## Belectic Review.

## OCTOBER, 1853.

- ART. I.—Reports on the Sanitary Condition of the Epidemic Districts of the Metropolis, with Special Reference to the Threatened Visitation of Epidemic Cholera. By John Sutherland, Esq., M.D., Medical Superintending Inspector of the Board of Health. 1852.
- 2. Local Reports to the General Board of Health on Preliminary Enquiries into the Sanitary Conditions of Various Towns. 1849 —1852.
- 3. Summary of Experience in Diseases and Comparative Rates of Mortality. By William Lee, Esq., Superintending Inspector under the Public Health Act.
- 4. Letter to the Mayor of Newcastle-on-Tyne on the Outbreak of Cholera. (September, 1853.) By George Robinson, M.D., Lecturer on the Practice of Medicine in the Newcastle-on-Tyne College of Practical Science.

To improve the condition of the working classes, and to qualify them for taking that share in the Constitution which they seem likely soon to possess, are subjects which for many years have exercised the best hearts and minds in the country, and which are being daily more and more earnestly discussed.

Innumerable are the recommendations offered for this purpose,—more bishops and churches, national education, free libraries, benefit societies, abolition of the law of settlement and pauper farms, allotment gardens, and village shows and sports, extension of the suffrage and all other points of the charter, freer trade yet, ocean penny postage and universal peace, teetotalism,

and many others. Among these, stands one recommendation which has not yet received so much popular notice as many of the rest, but which in practical present usefulness, and as preparing the way for every other good reform, is, perhaps, —cholera now impending—most worthy of immediate help; it is that of improving the health and lessening the mortality of the

people.

Besides its more evident bearings upon the comfort and longevity of all classes of the community, the subject of public health possesses certain important relations to the working men's questions of the suffrage, education, and emigration which we have not seen anywhere much dwelt upon. The question of public health seems to us to lie at the root of all the great reforms mentioned, and on it, more than on anything else, will depend their successful development. In noticing the reports named at the head of this article, we propose at present to look at the health subject chiefly as a working man's question, and to offer a few remarks on its relation to education and the franchise, to which the working man is so eagerly looking as the means of bettering his lot.

It was a very sad consideration to every friend of 'the poor man's loaf,' that during the height of the struggle against the corn laws, meeting after meeting in our large towns, called to petition against them, was swamped by the clamour of the work-

ing classes themselves against the reform.

Cheap bread, they declared, at the suggestion of demagogues who lived neither by bread nor by the word of God, but by social disaffection, meant only lower wages, and the manufacturers who were urging it, wanted only, by getting them a shilling sized loaf for sixpence, to extort from them a shilling's worth of work for sixpence.

Blinded by political fanaticism and discontent, they refused to have cheap bread, because cheap bread was not the charter. Some of them, therefore, violently opposed the proposed boon, and others turned aside, declaring it was no business of theirs,

but merely a question for the capitalist.

They have outlived that error, and the last few years has allowed the truth and justice contained in free bread and free trade to strike their roots so deep and wide into the heart of England, that it can only be by tearing it out that they can be

uprooted thence.

Public health reform is a very different agitation, and, considered in all its extent, one of far wider significance than that of the abolition of the corn law; it is led by men whose motives not even malignity can long blacken nor ignorance mistake; its true merits cannot well be shrouded up in any political haze from the common sense of the working man; his interests are

directly and without any drawback contemplated by it, and it interferes with no other more cherished reform. Yet even in this measure we are painfully reminded of the infatuated opposition to their own interests displayed by the working classes during the corn-law agitation. In some towns in which preliminary inquiries have been held by the Inspectors of the Board of Health, the labouring population, the poorer ratepayers, have actually been led by interested persons to oppose the introduction of the Health Act. Where the town was the most putrescent the clamour has been the greatest. The owners of bad tenemented property, the proprietors of lanes and courts wherein a high rate of mortality always exists, and whence death and contagion are propagated to the wealthier inhabitants, have been the chief agitators, and have led the small ratepayers, by exaggerating the expense of the necessary works, to join them in their opposition. They have thus succeeded, in some instances, in preventing the application of the measure, and notwithstanding the tremendous exposures at the examinations of inspectors of existing filth, vice, crime, disease, and death, they still remain, as at Whitehaven, Hertford, Birmingham, Cambridge, &c., in the same sordid and deadly condition Thousands of those who, during the last few years, resisted the application of the Health Act, must have perished of the diseases against which it is a safeguard. Refusing to accept this defensive armour against death, they have been shot down. There is no other cure for the ignorance from which this mistaken opposition arises than knowledge, and here the thinking classes have been greatly remiss in their duty to their brethren of toil. We should have taken more vigorous means to spread accurate views on the subject among the masses of the

It is not, in some respects, so complicated as most of the political topics by which the working classes have been usually agitated, and the truth of it will the more easily be brought home to their minds. The objections to be combated are few and simple, however strong, and with all the intelligent portion of the working class are easily overcome by the exercise of a little patience and a few easy explanations of a practical nature. The intelligent portion of the working classes once leagued with the intelligent and benevolent portion of the middle and higher classes on the subject, and the ignorance and avarice which are its true opponents would speedily disappear or be beaten down. Up to the present time, the working classes, who are chiefly interested in this subject, have neither had the leisure nor the necessary training to enable them to estimate its value; and, with the exception of the members of the medical

and many others. Among these, stands one recommendation which has not yet received so much popular notice as many of the rest, but which in practical present usefulness, and as preparing the way for every other good reform, is, perhaps, —cholera now impending—most worthy of immediate help; it is that of improving the health and lessening the mortality of the

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profession, who have done their duty nobly, the public have

displayed a strange apathy and remissness.

The Board of Health, the government, and the legislature have done their part, so far as they were concerned, well; but the people have not yet done theirs. In a social and domestic reform of this kind it is right and fitting that the people should manifest their wish for it before it is conceded; nor, unless they do call loudly for it, will any board, government, or legislature venture to force it on them. Even benefits may be so bestowed as to be considered injuries, and, thrust upon a people especially jealous of their personal freedom, would be stigmatized as oppressions.\* We ourselves, the people, ought long ere this to have strengthened the hands of the Friends of Health, and to have cheered them on in their arduous and faithful crusades against these authentic powers of darkness, Filth and Disease. Instead of allowing them to dispute their way, inch by inch, from one town to another, thwarted and often driven back by the most ignorant, sordid, and tyrannical of the population, by owners of bad property, 'Improvement Act,' lawyers, and old Tory engineers, we should have come forward, organized a national society to aid them in carrying public health,—not in a slow series of isolated measures, but without an hour of unnecessary delay; we should have spread abroad throughout the kingdom sound views on the subject; appointed a prosecutor to bring forward some of the daily occurring cases wherein, by wilful and wicked neglect, poor men had been poisoned in their houses; convicted the perpetrators of the crimes, when possible, by coroner's jury, and tried to fasten on them a liability to support the widows and orphans left destitute by the 'culpable homicide;' and, above all, we should have petitioned parliament, every man and woman of us who believes in cleanliness and in our responsibility to aid our helpless fellow-creatures perishing around us by hundreds of thousands, for an extension of the powers of the Health Act, -for the appointment, under it, of a public prosecutor, and for its immediate application to every poor-law union throughout the country. So long as we refrain from doing all this, we cannot consider ourselves guiltless of the blood of our brother, which is crying against us from the ground. With Lord Palmerston Home Secretary we may now hope for some such measures. It is vain to draw distinctions as to its application, and to make a mortality of

<sup>•</sup> See Letters to the Working-classes on the Health of Themselves and their Families, which, within the last three or four months, have reached a circulation of between thirty and forty thousand copies. They are published at a guinea per thousand for gratuitous distribution, and may be had from Alexander Macintosh, printer, Great New-street, Fetter-lane, London.

23 or 20 to the 1000 inhabitants of any given place a necessary preliminary to its being adopted there. The excess of mortality every where, in all our towns and villages, over the inevitable mortality of the human race under good conditions as to ventilation and drainage has been proved to be enormous, and the amount of cleanliness enforced by the Health Act is surely not too much for any town or village whatsoever. As this amount of cleanliness is necessary in order to save life, we are called on, as a matter of humanity, to enforce it; as it is necessary in order to secure ourselves against the epidemics generated by filth, we have a right to demand its immediate adoption. Sir William Molesworth's universal suffrage is totally inapplicable to such a question. That the Health Act results in a saving of expense is a very inferior consideration in dealing with a question of life and death; it is one, however, which should shut the mouths of all opponents, or, if that is impossible, at least prevent us from listening to them. The subject has made such rapid advances during the last four years, that it is scarcely necessary, we presume, at this time of day, to bring forward statistics in order to prove the truth of the assertion that hundreds of thousands of our countrymen, chiefly in our humbler classes, are perishing around us unnecessarily from causes easily removable by well known means. It is said that nothing is so delusive as statistics, and that you may prove anything by figures. The tables of mortality are certainly no delusion: that of 16,000,000 of people in England about 350,000 die every year is as certain as any fact capable of being ascertained by human observation.

There are two methods of showing that this is just about DOUBLE the mortality to which the universal application of the Health Act, or the general adoption of tolerable habits of clean-

liness, would bring this country.

The first is by taking away from the tables of mortality those deaths from epidemics which experience proves to be quite under the control of sanitary measures, and estimating the remaining mortality as that inevitably appertaining to us as a nation; the second, and, as most persons will consider it, the more practical and credible method is to take a large population in healthy districts, and estimate the mortality as that to which, by the adoption of sanitary measures, all districts may be brought. Mr. Lee, one of the Superintending Inspectors of the Board of Health,\* shows that in a population of 600,000

<sup>\*</sup> Summary of Experience on Disease and Comparative rates of Mortality. By William Lee, Esq., Superintending Inspector. 1851. A very excellent pamphlet, full of clear, bold views, and unanswerable figures.

persons living in tolerably healthy districts, the annual deaths only amounted to 11 in the 1000, and Mr. Simon, the officer of health of the City of London, considers that this low rate of mortality is perfectly attainable. Now, among these 600,000 persons many deaths would no doubt arise from preventible causes, and we may therefore fairly adopt Mr. Lee's conclusion, 'that half the attainable period of human life is lost to all who are born.'

'My conviction,' says that gentleman, in a private letter to the present writer, 'is as strong as that of my own existence, that the inevitable mortality of man is not greater than 10 to 1000 annually. A presumptuous spirit would lead me to a still lower rate, and not without some reasons entitled to weight. The very last census of this country proves that the average duration of life among the Society of Friends is fifty-one years two months and twenty-one days. This average duration of life is equivalent to a rate of mortality of only 9.76 to a 1000 annually. Let it be remembered that this fact includes residence in all parts of England and Wales, salubrious and insalubrious, in large towns and places in the worst possible sanitary conditions, as well as in the open country districts, and you will conclude that there must be some preventible disease even among the Society of Friends.

'Take off the decimal '76, which is only equal to one 1316, or let the figures even remain as in the census, and then attempt to conceive the aggregate destruction going on amongst twenty millions of fellowcreatures and fellow-subjects. Every day—hourly—each moment night and day—the "insatiate archer" does his work, and the efforts

to arrest his progress are few and feeble.'

Taking the deaths, as stated by the Registrar-General, at 21 in the 1000 for the whole population of England and Wales, we have more than twice the mortality of the districts before mentioned by Mr. Lee (containing the 600,000 persons), and considerably more than twice the mortality which exists among the Society of Friends. Nearly 180,000 persons every year perishing unnecessarily in England and Wales,—capable, in the judgment of the most experienced physicians in the country, of being saved alive, at least as certainly as persons can be saved from ague by drainage, or small-pox by vaccination! What reform of modern times is equal to this? For every death there are estimated to be 30 cases of sickness of greater or less intensity-above 5,000,000 of cases of sickness of shorter or longer duration, chiefly still among the labouring poor, which might be avoided! To how much sorrow, ignorance, vice, and crime, do these figures point! how greatly must this retard the progress of the nation in every good work! what an unnecessary tax upon benevolence and the poor-rate! what a fearful responsibility lies upon us to rescue the sufferers from their misery, and the nation from the sin!

Before dismissing this subject of comparative mortality, we must remark that it is no unusual error to find very sensible people laughing at the idea of the mortality ever coming down to 10 in the 1000. 'Why that is, every one shall live a century,' said a very shrewd lawyer to us. 'We shall all be Methuselahs!' said some civil engineers, at one of their meetings, to a distinguished member of their body, engaged in sanitary works. 'Your ideas are quite visionary,' cry all opponents of the Health Act. However, as Mr. Lee has pointed out, 10 persons dying out of every 1000 born, gives an average duration of life of fifty years; at ninety years end, there would be 100 of the 1000 living, and 10 of them would survive to the century; this is the plain account of the matter, and it is indeed so very plain, that had we not frequently met with the above errors, we should have been ashamed to draw the reader's attention to them. But many towns have a much higher mortality than The late visits of Dr. Sutherland to the various 21 in the 1000. epidemic districts of the metropolis, undertaken by request of the Board of Health, with a view to arrest public attention to the subject before the cholera come down upon us, have given rise to a number of 'Reports,' which now lie before us. It is truly melancholy to find, in district after district, notwithstanding the stupendous efforts that have been made by the Poor Law Board, the Board of Health, aided by the various associations established for health or kindred objects, by the admirable reports and labours of the superintending inspectors, by the 'Journal of Public Health,' and by hundreds of enthusiastic advocates of the Public Health movement, that almost all the old nuisances of the former visitation still remain. It is disheartening enough,—but only shows the necessity for continued, and if possible, more vigorous efforts.

Perhaps a brief glance at a few of these Reports made during September and October, 1852, may not be unacceptable to the reader, nor useless to the great cause of public health.

In St. Saviour's Union, the annual mortality is 29.2 in the 1000, a larger mortality than any metropolitan district except West London. The cholera in this union, in 1832, carried off at the rate of  $7\frac{1}{2}$  in 1000, and in 1849, at the rate of 9 in every 1000 of the inhabitants. The Registrar-General's Report in St. Saviour's district states, that during the cholera of 1849, 'the working classes and their families chiefly suffered,'—alas! it is so everywhere, and everywhere, as Dr.' Sutherland remarks of St. Saviour's, 'the union is still taxed for the widows and orphans of those who then perished from the disease.' The

poor find the most death, the rich find the most taxes; which is the heavier 'cess?' In 1848, Mr. Doubleday, who had practised medically in the district during the attack of cholera of 1832, says of it then: 'The visitation of the cholera in our district was very severe.' He speaks of 'houses which are very miserable as regards size, ventilation, and means of cleanliness; the mortality was excessive; as many as five died in one house.' 'And that place,' asks Dr. Sutherland, 'remains without amendment?' 'Just the same; exactly in the same state. When certain atmospheric conditions prevail, and typhus arises, it is always found much more in these districts, and the result is more fatal.' And this would apply to half the courts of London. 'What is the bodily condition of the population resident in these districts?' 'They are sickly and miserable, the children poor and dwindling.' 'When we visit the houses of the lower classes, we are met, or, as the expression is, almost 'knocked down,' by offensive smells. On inquiry we find that there is some house drain stopped up, some cesspool deranged, or the cellar flooded.' And then the old plan of main square sewers, often arranged on bad levels, prevents the inhabitants of isolated districts from draining these pools of disease. large main sewer is a long cesspool, the floor of which is many inches, or, sometimes, feet thick with putrid mud,—the side drains falling into this bed of mud, cannot give vent to the drainage of the houses, but send up volumes of sewer air to fill the tenements instead. Beriah Drew, Esq., clerk to the Surrey and Kent Sewer Commission being asked, 'With relation to the new sewers which you have executed, what proportion of house drains have joined on to them?' replies 'that they are not numerous;' and the reason he gives is: 'I believe it arises from the effluvia of the sewer,' and confesses that persons who have opened house drains into these new, dead level, choked up sewers, have not found any benefit, but the contrary, as we may well comprehend when we learn from Mr. Lovick's Report of a sewer being 'a vast elongated cesspool, a continual generator of the most deadly gases.' 'The smell is most horrible, the air being so foul that explosion and choke damp are very frequent,' say Messrs. Austin and Smith; -and we remember reading a little while ago some apologetic statement by the City Sewers Commissioners,—that certain sewers were not cleansed out from the dangerous nature of the duty, explosions being common, the very skin being peeled occasionally off their And yet this is the atmosphere which pours up, in greater or less quantity, from almost all the sinks, grates, and gully-holes of England, into the tenements and cottages; ay, and often the mansions and palaces of the land! 'The long subterranean caverns and cesspools,' says Dr. Sutherland, 'are retorts which generate and distil, by every pore, sewer air, which is one of the most virulent aërial poisons with which we are acquainted, and which has sometimes instantly destroyed human life, and at others occasioned death by typhus and cholera. Houses situated near untrapped gullies, or having untrapped communication with such sewers, have often suf-

fered severely from both diseases.'

Yet, in some places, they are still laying down, and in most they are contenting themselves with a futile pretence of cleansing these very cesspool drains. Such engineers are only a step removed from the landlords of the Rookery, St. Giles's, who removed the privies altogether, to save the expense of emptying them! Though there is some improvement, we see then that St. Saviour's is in a very unsanitary condition. These fœcal eructations and stoppage of the earth's bowels portend nothing but speedy death. Explosive gases, choke-damp, and five feet of fluid mud in their drains, this does not say much for the engineering of St. Saviour's.

St. Saviour's!—name full of healing and active godlike benevolence—how has it, by this district of filth and mortality, been taken in vain! He who went about continually doing good, and who sent forth his disciples to heal the sick and cleanse the leper; has He not also said to the landlords of this epidemic district, which bears his name, 'Freely ye have received, freely give'? Let them look into the foul labyrinths of St. James's-place, or stand over the fever dens of Red Cross-square,

and reply.

With this infernal apparatus, or subterranean retort for generating typhus and cholera, the Demon of the sewer sits and plies his trade; alas! not in St. Saviour's or St. Giles's alone, or the old metropolitan haunts of death, but by the doors of country cottages, by the borders of fair rivers, up some miserable gully hole, the sewer-fiend blows his deadly breath, and the helpless unthinking peasant, or his wife or child, drops of fever, small pox, or cholera, into the grave. There are certain female exorcists in India, who, considering that bad fevers and raging epidemics are the result of demoniacal possession, seize the patient by the hair, and flogging him vigorously with a slipper, shout—'Fiend! begone to the demoniacy whence ye came!'

Sure enough, we find fever to be a fiend capable of being exorcised; and sure enough he comes from the drain, as these Hindoo fetish women indicate (deriving the fact, perhaps, from some forgotten health philosophy of the primeval east); but to send the demon back to the sewer, is but Hindoo or St. Saviour's sanitary practice. We must try to expel him thence. To per-

severe with the ancient cesspool-drain, as many of the old engineers and sewer boards wish us to do, is to keep up the breed of City rats and sewer-fiends (which occupy this first story downward to the infernal regions); and all that the clean-liness of the house-mother, or the skill of the physician can effect, when the fever demon has laid his grasp on some member of a family, is sometimes to succeed in driving him back into his drain.

From these cesspool-sewers, and huge stagnant reservoirs of fætid mud, from these vast retorts generating foul air, we see landlord avarice, and selfishness in other shapes, sending up into the atmosphere the raw material of all epidemics (as American slavery sends us cotton), to be woven up into manifold textures—typhus, small pox, erysipelas, dysentery, cholera, the mournful fabrics of misery, sewed by the 'sweating system' into ever ready-made garments of death. Yes, as the Hindoo sorcerers say, in the drain dwells the sewer-fiend, and thence his breath issues up through 'gully shoots' and 'man-holes' (the very words have a ghastly smack with them!) and thence he steals, during the silent watches of the night, when doors and windows are closed, and the children of toil sleep the sleep of the weary, and the demon breathes over them, and the strong hand of the father relaxes, the young children pine away, and the pale mother and her new-born infant droop and die. But as in the small, clean, cheap, effectual pipe-drainage, the rats can no longer preserve their footing, and are decamping from the country towns to which the Health Act has been applied, up to their impregnable citadel of London, and the protection of the Commissioners of Sewers,—so by means of syphon-traps and water at high-pressure to flush all out and away from human habitations, to be spread over distant\* fields and gardens, the sewer-fiend may also be banished from the precincts of man; and whatsoever mortality it may please Almighty God to require from us, that which arises from filth and foul air (probably one-half of the whole), will, at least, be driven away.

We cannot help remarking here on the droll, patronizing, apologetic way in which some very good people, recent converts to health measures, speak of the operations of sanitary reformers. They carefully apprise their readers and hearers, that the prerogative of life and death is by no means sought to

<sup>\*</sup> The experience of the Croydon epidemic is most instructive. It is clear, from Mr. Simon's lucid Report, that the accumulation of refuse around the place, from the imperfectly-carried out sanitary measures, was the cause of that fever,—which has been most foolishly and maliciously made use of by the opponents of the Health Act. It shows, however, that too much refuse must not be spread near towns.

be taken away from the Supreme Disposer of events by the Health Act. Well-meaning ignorance, even among religious people, will soon accommodate itself to the true laws of health, as a few years ago it had to accommodate itself to the new geology.

Let us now glance at the Report of Dr. Sutherland on the

district of St. Giles's and St. George's, Bloomsbury.

We willingly admit that these are not attractive topics; and this, indeed, is the chief reason they are so little known or heeded by the comfortable healthy public; but those who wish to cure this canker which is eating into England, must probe it to the bottom, and make themselves familiar, as a physician does in individual ailments, with all the symptoms of the disease.

St. Giles's is a world-wide proverb for misery, destitution, and crime. Before the Rookery was pulled down, it was one of the sights of the metropolis, and the district still supplies localities in which the timid country visitor gazes as he would into one of the lower circles of Dante's 'Hell.' 'Misery's darkest cavern' is ever painted here:—

'Where hopeless Anguish pours his groan, And lonely Want retires to die.'

The burly reckless burglar, his brute strength steeped in drunkenness by day, strides down Church-street to the gin palace as the winter evening closes; the unknown murderer, hung round with fear and suspicion,—the far-off provincial newspaper, which contains his description, and offers a reward for his capture, in his pocket, follows stealthily behind; here a young girl, from whose flushed, faded features all the heaven that lay round them in their infancy has not yet faded; and there a worn-out haggard woman of thirty, who was once—though her own mother could not now look in her face and recall it—the belle of a Warwickshire village, with a puny wrinkled child, that looks like an infantile old man, in her arms; these, with the common herd of common wretches who haunt the 'epidemic districts' of life, form the population of this fever den of the metropolis of the world.

How much of the wretchedness and vice which have so long given a bad distinction to St. Giles's is owing to the filth, overcrowding, and want of the common requisites for decency, it is impossible to tell; but the history of all the unimproved, as well as that of the improved dwellings of the poor, both in the metropolis and provincial towns, as we shall show, demonstrates that a very large portion of the suffering, death, vice, yes, and crime is to be traced to the reckless cupidity and total disregard of the health and morals of their tenantry displayed

by the owners of the bad house-property in which the unhappy

and helpless creatures dwell.

Before we give a single example, we must premise that, in every instance cited, the possibility of applying perfect sanitary measures to the places in question has been proved by the eminent civil engineers on the staff of the General Board of Health, and that these plans would conduce to the financial

as well as the sanitary improvement of the property.

The district of St. Giles's 'covers an area of 245 acres, and has a population of 221 persons per acre. Its house-room is extremely limited, and there are, on an average, no fewer than 11 persons per house, being the highest average in the metropolis. In the worst localities the overcrowding is excessive. I have found several instances of as many as 40 persons to a house.'

'The amount of house refuse produced by a dense population covering a small district is of itself sufficient to render sanitary improvement less effective than it would otherwise be, and is one of the reasons why density of population is so potent a cause of mortality from epidemic disease. In the overcrowded districts the houses are filthy in the extreme from a similar cause, and the atmosphere most unwholesome. The floors, staircases, and walls are dirty and offensive, and generally all much of the same colour—a dark dirty brown or black.'

This is the true cholera colouring for the walls, than which nothing is more characteristic of the haunts of all pestilences. The blazing gin palace for an armed gateway to the entrance of this woful citadel, the burglar, and other common earth fiends, herding with the fallen angels of womankind—cholera and fever, languor and anguish in every shape, forming the cooped-up garrison of the place—one may imagine the Enemy of the human race himself occasionally visiting this stronghold of his power, and encouraging their revolt against happiness, virtue, and health. And, alas! he has leagued with him the avarice and ignorance of man; and so long as he has the landlords with him, the friends of the helpless and unhappy prisoners may batter at the walls in vain. We are compelled to beg the attention of the reader to the following shocking details;—the case is imperfect without such evidence:—

'Mr. Gotto, in his Report of July 7, 1849, describes these streets as the resort of the most depraved and filthy class of the community. So large a number, he says, of such houses having been destroyed. the consequent crowded state of this spot is scarcely credible. Its condition is said by a complainant to be unparalleled in London, and a perfect disgrace to any civilized community. I regret that a personal examination of every house enables me to corroborate this

testimony.' As to the domestic conveniences of the houses, Mr. Gotto says, 'Many of the houses originally had privies, but they have been destroyed by the sub-landlords for the purpose of avoiding the enormous periodical cost of emptying the cesspools. The privies have been pulled down and abandoned on account of the expense of emptying: the inhabitants of the last house use the necessaries attached to the premises at the corner of the lane, seven houses below them, whence also the water-supply is obtained, the pipe being in a cellar occupied by about 15 persons. There is no dustbin, and the refuse and waste water are thrown into the street.

'In another instance, about 250 persons sleeping in 9 rooms use one necessary and one pump. The Statistical Society show a population, in 1848, of 463 in 18 houses, or 2243 for the 95 houses.

'The Statistical Society describe the character of the locality as follows:—In these wretched dwellings, all ages and both sexes, fathers and daughters, mothers and sons, grown up brothers and sisters, stranger adult males and females, and swarms of children, the sick, the dying, and the dead, are herded together with a proximity and mutual pressure which brutes would resist: where it is physically impossible to preserve the ordinary decencies of life; where all sense of propriety and self-respect must be lost.

'Mr. Gotto states, that of 100 children living-born there will die without attaining the age of one year, in Church-lane, 31, or twice as many as in Islington.'

An awful picture, and not by any means confined to St. Giles's, or to London.

The reports of the superintending inspectors contain many instances, almost, if not quite, as bad.

Opening one of them (that on Portsmouth, alluded to in an article on Sanitary Reform in our March number) at random, we find that 'every epidemic that visits Portsmouth is sure to visit Messam's-court. Small-pox is at present prevailing there. The cholera commenced here in 1832.' And 'Prospectrow:' strange that all the Mount Pleasants and Prospect Rows throughout the country are the first haunts of the cholera! There is surely a moral in that; they were smiling, pure places in Nature's time, but

'God made the country, and man made the town.'

They carry still in their names some memory of their pristine purity, and they ought to be so many watchwords to remind us of our duty to bring them back to freshness and healthiness again. In Prospect-row families were living, in 1832, in underground cellars, since removed. 'In Gold-street,' said Dr. Quarrier, 'new sovereigns would be tarnished; in Silver-street silver would rapidly assume the colour of pewter or lead; in Steel-street steel would be rusted by the noxious vapours arising from accumulations of all kinds of filth and deleterious

gases. The Point,' the famous Point, 'is nearly surrounded by water, and is deficient in every requisite to health, comfort, and cleanliness.'

Turning up another of Mr. Rawlinson's excellent Reports (that on Whitehaven) we find an appalling picture:—29 deaths in the 1000 inhabitants on an average of seven years; nay, in 1846, 7, and 8, the number of deaths were  $37\frac{1}{2}$ ,  $40\frac{1}{2}$ , and  $32\frac{1}{2}$  in the 1000 respectively! worse than the worst of the wastes in London. This is a comparatively modern town, the capital of the West of Cumberland, situated well for drainage, and with fresh breezes from the Irish sea ventilating the streets! The thing is truly shocking. The badness of the dwellings attracts the worst kind of population, and these deteriorate here, as everywhere else, the nature of the house property. 'It is the result of observation,' says Dr. Southwood Smith, speaking of the St. Giles's district—

'That if dwellings be ever so bad there will still be people found of a character similar to that of the dwellings to inhabit them. I have observed this so often that I consider it an established law in civic economy; and it is a most important one, for it points out the remedies required. It is seen in operation in the worst districts of St Giles in as great perfection as in other similar districts of the metropolis. Unhealthy localities attract certain classes of people, and overcrowding renders cleanliness and ventilation very difficult, even if the people were disposed to put them in operation. Unhealthy houses act on the people, and the people re-act on the houses, and thus cause and effect are interchanged, and the result is disease, mortality, demoralization, and crime.'

'Some of the houses,' says Dr. Henry Carter, surgeon of the Portsea district, speaking of the cholera grounds of Portsmouth, 'are kept as clean as existing circumstances' (that is, the defective drainage and water supply, which the landlords will not remedy) 'will permit; but the industrious are too frequently dragged into disease by the foul residents about them; the whole atmosphere is poisoned for their use, and nothing but proper sanitary works and after-cleansing regulations can permanently improve the existing state of things.' And Mr. William Wilson, giving evidence in Whitehaven, states, 'If cellars were done away with, houses would be built to provide for the demand. I do not think the low rental of houses or rooms has anything to do with the influx of poor into the town. I think the parties come for work, and not for the cheap rooms;' to which the superintending inspector adds—

'I agree with Mr. Wilson so far as the houses are concerned, that if properly-constructed cottages were provided, and the present wretched places closed, such new houses would be tenanted, and would also be

paid for by a superior class of people. In fact, the same people would be raised up to them. At present Whitehaven attracts within it all the wretchedness and misery of the district, and degrades every unfortunate labourer compelled to seek work there down to one common level. The poverty of Ireland swarms over to kindred misery; and disease, death, and oppressive poor's-rates, are the consequence.'

Every friend of cleanliness in towns has been met with the remark that it is the untidy habits of the poor that make their homes so filthy. How is it, then, that we shall see all the inhabitants of one alley with clean, and all those of another with filthy, houses? Unflagged courts are universally dirty; flagged and sewered courts are almost as universally clean. Practical men are found everywhere, like Mr. Wilson, in Whitehaven, and Mr. Blake, Commissioner of Portsea, denying the inherent love of dirt in the poor.

We have cited enough to show that some of our provincial towns may dispute even with St. Giles's the bad pre-eminence of filth and mortality.

We might go further, and show that in some of our small country towns and large villages there are localities as vile and as deadly as any, but the very worst, in the metropolis. In Barnard Castle, where excellent measures, under Mr. Ranger's (of the Board of Health) superintendence, have lately been adopted, fever, and cholera, formerly carried matters in truly metropolitan style; and the little romantic town or village of Keswick, among the beautiful lakes and glorious mountains of Cumberland, instead of being what it might be, the Paradise of England, is, we learn from Mr. Rawlinson's Report, 'encompassed by foul middens, open cesspools, stagnant ditches, or by still fouler drains, and the deaths among the children are more numerous than anywhere, except in the worst districts of large towns! \*\*

Villages and hamlets, single rows of cottages, and isolated farm-houses, have no exemption from the common penalties of dirt: as yeast will set the cottager's barrel of beer, as well as the great London brewer's vat, fermenting, so will the foul air

<sup>\*</sup> Since this paper was written, Keswick has adopted the Health Act; but the former opponents of it, being supported by the majority of the cottage and tenement rate payers, have been elected the first Local Board. Many men, however, who have been active in opposition to the Health Act, have, on inquiry and reflection, become its active advocates. Let us hope that this will be so with the new rulers of Keswick. Tourists, who usually belong to a class which knows the value of order, neatness, and cleanliness, will, and ought to, help this and other watering-places, villages, and towns, to adopt thorough health measures, by speaking to the inhabitants on the subject. Portsmouth is still fighting the closest and longest battle for health of any town in the kingdom; Whitehaven is still asleep and in a nightmare.

from a cottage drain bring fever to its inmates, as well as that from the cesspools of St. Giles's will breed and feed cholera there.

It has become very evident that additional parliamentary powers are required in order to enforce thorough measures of health, and that any Board at Whitehall must have public feeling to back them before they can carry out even the powers they possess. Nothing can be effectually done towards a perfect system of sanitary measures, which means the application of rules for public cleanliness to every union in the empire, towns, villages, and hamlets included, until public opinion is further advanced than at present. The General Board of Health, though convinced of the criminality involved in the condition of our towns, has not dared to be aggressive. Though armed with the authority of parliament to examine and report on any town whose mortality is above 23 in the 1000 (of which there are, alas! many in England) they have never yet entered on one. The metropolis, we see, with its vested interests in deadly sewers, remains in statu quo; -towns in which the mortality amounts to twice that which exists in healthy places, towns like Whitehaven, with the frightful mortality of 29 in the 1000 per annum, are allowed successfully to resist the Health Act and persist in the massacre of their populations.

This ought no longer to be allowed. It is a great national sin; committed as clearly for the sake of a miserable gain, as was the murder of the cottage farmer the other day for the few shillings in his pocket. Until we look on it as a question of life and death, and feel that our brother's blood is crying against us from the ground, we shall not succeed in wiping out the stain of it from our souls.

We began by saying that this is the age of efforts to elevate the working classes,—and we would wish again to suggest to benevolent persons, that at the foundation of all efforts to advance the working man lies the question of public health. It is quite in vain to preach any gospel whatever, intellectual, moral, or religious, to people environed in fever and filth. Put any committee of any benevolent project whatever into Church-street, St. Giles's, or Solomon's Temple, Whitehaven,—let them live upon seven or eight shillings a-week, and earn it, and what would be the condition of the majority at the close of a few years? We have seen broken-down gentlemen in similar places come down to be worse than their regular inhabitants.

Then as to education.

At the opening of the Free Library at Manchester, on the 18th of October, 1852, Mr. Pollok said, 'he believed if there was any class to whom it was of peculiar and essential im-

portance to know the rights and privileges possessed by the meanest inhabitants of the country, it was more important to the poor than the rich, to the miserable and degraded in worldly circumstances than to the wealthy and enlightened.'

Such sentiments as these are often uttered at public meetings, and are as often applauded. But what, let us ask, are these rights of the miserable and the degraded? To enter a well ventilated free library or church, to read or listen to doctrines they cannot comprehend, and to return to their dens of One would think, at all events, one of their first and most essential rights was that of breathing fresh air. The respectable, library-going working men are not the representatives of their class, still less of those miserable and degraded ones to whom the speaker refers. The tens of thousands of the poor, miserable, and degraded, want a purer atmosphere, and less squalid homes; they are anywhere but among books: it is only the exceptional men who long for the luxury of the intellectual atmosphere of the free library.

Yet, follow home many of these decent-looking working men reading at the tables, or boys seated on the floor because the tables are full, and you will find most of them passing through the filthiest lanes, to homes around which the daughter and the mother are exposed to degrading and demoralizing scenes, and

where children are lying sick of preventible diseases.

Free libraries! most benevolent are their founders; but the danger is of satisfying their benevolent sentiment with this alone. The skinning over of the malignant wound that is eating into the social life of England, is too much the surgery of the benevolence of the day. If the Samaritans of society will probe the wound, they will find it too deep for this superficial surgery. In this, as in all medical and surgical malady, we must begin with sound measures of general hygiene.

Give our working men flagged courts and syphon-trapped tubular sewers, with water at high pressure, or rather procure them the liberty of paying the two-pence a-week which will buy all this, and they will soon cease to require the charity of free libraries, for they will establish libraries of their own. Infant and ragged-schools,—can anything be more excellent? Yes, to save the lives of as many infants among the poor as now survive to come to the schools; to arrest the fevers and consumptions which fill the schools with ragged children—this is more excellent; and to do this will alone enable present benevolence to go further and do more.

Fever and drinking fill the ragged-schools, and leave multitudes in rags whom the schools cannot hold. Arrest the feverand this is far more easily done than educating a ragged-school —arrest the fever which first ravages the infants, and then strikes with the greatest intensity the fathers and mothers, leaving the boys and girls of the family to the wide world; and fewer ragged

schools will do, and there will be fewer rags in them.

Public parks and cheap excursions, too; fresh lungs to London and Manchester; admirable things! but why not fresh air also at home? Here is society labouring under a low state of health, going, in fact, into a cesspool-fever, or leprosy of the sewer, and you offer it a pair of dumb-bells! Surely the first thing is to empty the cesspool, cure the fever, and then offer the recreation and the exercise?

Would the promoters of all our benevolent efforts only see how entirely this simple question of decent homes lies below all their schemes, and agree to combine their efforts for its solution, how rapidly would society progress in every good

work!

To those, too, who are looking anxiously towards the inevitable extension of the franchise, we recommend the earnest

advocacy of the subject of public health.

There is no better outward evidence of a man's fitness to exercise any franchise than the possession of a clean, healthy, well-ordered home; joined with average common sense and intelligence, what better could be devised! There are tens of thousands of our householders at present, whose houses, instead of a proof of their fitness for exercising the franchise, are the best possible evidence of their unfitness for that or any other trust.

Here is a method of raising the franchise to which no friend of progress, conservative or aggressive, will object, and which even Colonel Sibthorpe will find it difficult to condemn. present ministers entered office with anticipations full of hope to the people because full of progress. The suffrage rang in all their speeches. 'I believe,' said Lord John Russell, in a late speech at the Leeds Mechanics' Institute, 'that the institutions of this country would be utterly impracticable, would utterly fail, would break to pieces in the working of the machinery, as you have seen so many of the institutions of the continent do, were it not for the good sense, the moderation, and the wisdom, I may say, of the people.' And his lordship went on to say that in them he trusted for the future welfare and progress of the constitution, whether with reference to religious liberty, the extension of the franchise, or other necessary reforms.

During our own day the appeal to the democratic principle has ever been necessary before any great benefit could be wrung from the obstructive classes for the nation at large; and this appeal, more than once during the last thirty years, has been made not to 'the good sense, moderation, and wisdom' of the people, but to their prejudices and their passions. Nor in the present position of the masses will such appeals cease,—nor indeed will any other appeals but those addressed to their passions, rather than their good sense, be likely to reach or rouse them to help in breaking down the obstructions which bar great national benefits like those of reform and free trade. We are glad to observe Lord John's increasing confidence and trust in the 'democracy,' and we know that he, at least, will only appeal to their wisdom, their good sense, and their moderation.

But in the agitation on the subject of the franchise which is 'looming in the future,' who shall ensure us that the appeal will only be made to those qualities of the democracy; or, rather, who does not know that other qualities than those will be loudly evoked, and that, should anything like the opposition of 1832 be offered to the coming demand for an extension of the franchise, the mobs of the Reform Bill will have been nothing compared to the uproar and strife which will arise? Yet it is, as Lord John Russell well says, chiefly, if not solely, in the moderation and good sense of the people, and very much in that of the working men, who will form the majority of those interested in the result of the impending agitation, that the safety of the nation consists. How important, then, everything which may conduce to the moderation and calmness of judgment so necessary in the crisis! But with a people, the majority of whom live, as the Reports of the Board of Health prove, surrounded by discomforts which harass them, diseases which decimate their families, and an atmosphere which drives them to the dram-shop, as that drives them to poverty and discontent, how are we providing for this moderation and wisdom? On the contrary, are we not neglecting the simplest, the cheapest, and the readiest method to obtain moderation and good sense in council, by not providing the household means for the decency, cleanliness, temperance, and order which always accompany, and often produce, moderation and good sense?

The getting of political power is, say the Chartists and others less violent than they, the shortest and surest way to all other good for the democracy. It seems to us a very round about way, indeed, compared to that of commencing with a reform in the democrat's dwelling, his habits, and his health. This is the best, nay, the only sure foundation on which we ought to build. For the large majority of men a dry healthy house, nay, a clean skin, will conduce more to happiness than the franchise, nor will any amount of political power do, even for a demagogue, without health. But if a

man's possession of the franchise will not conduce so much to his happiness as health, a fresh airy house, or even a clean skin, neither will his possession of it bring him any nearer to these greater benefits than he is at present. He will, after all, be in low health (and consequently discontented), or he will have a sickly family, and be surrounded by offensive and unwholesome conditions of earth, air, and water as now, and he will have his health problem then as now to work out for himself, before, with all his franchises, he can begin to enjoy the full happiness of home, or find being a blessing to him. Surely, then, the shortest way to happiness for the democracy,—so far as the outward,—yes, and so far as the inward life is concerned, is first to bring freshness, cleanliness, and health into their homes, and thus to fit themselves for all the franchises, moral, political, and religious?

What a world of happiness, what a power for good would be given to the working man, were the languor, ill health, loss of friends, and anguish of mind, removable by the Health Act alone, swept for ever away from his path! And this, at least, is

practicable, and might be almost immediate.

Then, indeed, political reforms, at which the timid shudder, and even the friends of progress look grave, might be shorn of much of their danger. In Birmingham, in 1832, 100,000 men met and sang their Union Hymn of Reform; the Scots Greys were drawn up ready for the charge in case of disturbance; and in continual danger of such convulsions as this might easily have been, we have to struggle onward in the path of reform. But here, in the health movement, is a benefit able to produce at once an amount of social happiness, such as no merely political boon can bestow, and for which no mounted dragoons or Manchester massacres are required;—can no popular enthusiasm be awakened for this? It would seem not. This, the greatest and best measure for the national progress and happiness ever given by a parliament to a people,—the Health Act, has now been above four years in operation, and has met with little but obstructions, difficulties, and delays.

Of the 3000 unions of England, only about 240 towns have accepted its provisions. In almost every instance, instead of being welcomed as a boon, it has been won only after a bitter and protracted struggle. The strangest apathy exists respecting it in those places—(far the larger portion of the country)—in which it has not thus been the cause of strife. Besides the jealousies of a local or political nature, and the obstructions of those who hate light for its very purity and brightness, there are difficulties in the nature of the subject itself which retard its progress. Questions of sewers and small-pox are not so

cleanly, and do not appeal so directly to the public at large as cheap or dear bread. Free-trade—free corn—free navigation—the suffrage—the pope—these ever occupy more attention than

the life, health, and comfort of the people.

There is a beautiful simplicity in the staff of life subject, which he that runs may read. 'The poor man's loaf'—what a rallying cry!—you can make no such battle word out of ventilation and drainage. Yet 'the poor man's life' ought to be a better, and that is the real war cry of the soldiers in this strife.

But then the corn-laws were comparatively a modern injustice, the hatred of which, even from its birth, still survived. Lord Grenville's protest was yet ringing in our ears; whereas dirt and foul air are coeval with our cities,—part of our domestic arrangements, our *lares familiares* since the birth of historic time.

Admirable things, those we are so busy about, extension of the franchise; no popery; cheap Australian wool and wheat; free intercourse of nation with nation; colonies and backwoods, in which there is no dungeon-law of settlement to chain the labourer to the spot on which he was born; boundless fertile fields of virgin soil to grow the wheat, and wool, and sugar, and gold, which are to be exchanged with the English artisan of Sheffield, Birmingham, and Leeds, and set all our spindles dancing to a merrier tune;—but why in this forget the case of the artisan in his unhealthy dwelling, or make his produce dearer by placing upon it the additional price of his diseases? A man who quite neglected his garden at home, in order to grow crops upon the distant common, would act as wisely as this. Here, too, Charity begins at home, and Wisdom sits with (her own) children about her knees.

Yes, if the safety of the nation consist in 'the good sense and moderation of the democracy,' few things seem more desirable than health measures for the people,—for these will most conduce to order, contentment, and intelligence. If household suffrage (as Sir James Graham said at Carlisle) may fairly be granted,—the House should at any rate represent something better than filth and fever. Mr. Macauley, in his brilliant October speech at Edinburgh, shot off in rapid succession the keenest witticisms and sarcasms against Mr. Walpole's sudden extension of the franchise to all the militia troops of two years' standing, and his very rapid retraction of the proposal. The most sudden elastic legislative somersault of modern times! But are 'youth, poverty, ignorance, a roving disposition, and five feet two' (the qualification of the militia) a worse title to the franchise than a cellar tenement with windows that exclude the light, or a noisome den in a putrescent court? The circumstance of a man's inhabiting a tenement ruinous to his own constitution, no more recommends him to exercise any care over the British constitution than his wearing a red coat, or being 'five feet two.' Though a fresh, clean, orderly house may be a very fair criterion of a working man's prudence and good sense, surely, to make a cellar by a cesspool his title to a vote, is quite as bad as 'measuring him for the franchise?'

On the whole, then, cordially agreeing with Lord John Russell that, in the 'good sense, moderation, and wisdom' of the masses the safety of the state chiefly consists, and believing that, with the ample nourishment which free bread and trade have now brought, pure air and water, cleanly and healthy dwellings, are the prime requisites of the working man who wishes to be intelligent, prudent, and wise; and, considering that the Public Health Act is the shortest, cheapest, and best way yet devised of producing those requisites, we look upon the argument drawn from this all-absorbing topic of elective reform as one of the very strongest in favour of measures for the public health.

Until additional parliamentary powers can be obtained by the guardians of the public health, we believe the best method of carrying out effective measures for the health of the people will be, as we before said, by establishing a National Society to inform and agitate the public on the subject; and, until the power of prosecuting offenders against the public health shall be given by parliament to some General Board of Health (who would be by far the best depositaries of such a power), to commit and amerce in damages those who, by wilful neglect, cause deaths by typhus fever and other diseases which ought not to be heard of, or allowed to exist in civilized society.

It is an endless, difficult, and by no means attractive subject, very like most of the other serious duties which God has given man to perform, and we must work at it accordingly.

The history of the Act for the Removal of Nuisances and Prevention of Contagious Diseases, of the 9th and 10th Vict., with its two amendments of the two following years, shows the extreme difficulty of grappling with the social evils in question.

At first sight, as we remarked in our March number, it seems impossible that any nuisance would have escaped the powers and penalties of this really well-drawn act, and that now at last we had obtained an effectual remedy for open drains, cesspools, and preventible diseases. Yet, in practice, we know that it has been inoperative in many places, and we believe it has seldom been found of permanent use in any. There is no power to punish, or even to convict, of a very practical kind.

Even in the metropolis, according to Dr. Sutherland's recent Reports, the old swine 'oceans' of Kensington, and the cholerarows of Rotherhithe, remain in spite of the Nuisance Act; and as to our provincial towns and villages, we doubt whether all the formidable looking apparatus of the statute has vanquished

any man's vested rights in his midden.

On the whole, then, without wearying the reader by a detail of the causes of the practical inefficiency of the Nuisance Removal Act, we may say of it, that a powerful and highly-finished locomotive without stoker or engineer, and destitute of fuel and water, is its best type; and that, as having been so often made the excuse for warding off the Public Health Act, it is itself one of the greatest nuisances in the way of sanitary reform.

Whatever its faults, the Public Health Act is the best result yet achieved of the great movement destined to bring such blessings to the people of this country. Ten years' hard labour by many of the most valuable men in England have been cheaply expended in bringing up this statute so far. It is still avowedly imperfect, but will soon, we trust, have its imperfections re-To apply its provisions, without further discussion, to every town in which the general mortality is above 20 in the 1000 per annum, or the deaths of infants under one year old amount to more than 1 in 10, and to appoint a public prosecutor of nuisances to the health of the people, would, we believe, be approved by every friend of sanitary reform. We appeal especially to Lord Palmerston. He knows well the necessity for 'centralization' and 'compulsory legislation' in this matter. We have had compulsory legislation enough to familiarize us with the idea of it; compulsory vaccination and compulsory obligation on railway directors to support the survivors of those killed by their want of care; is society not yet ready to protect itself from being innoculated with cholera or fever, or at least to render compulsory on the rate-payers, who spread abroad these deadly influences, the support of the widows and orphans murdered by their sordid neglect?

Now that one-fiftieth part of the population (4000 souls) has perished in Copenhagen of the cholera; that Newcastle-on-Tyne, whose wilful, wrong-headed, monopolist corporation has resisted the Health Act for three years, and, though the town is reeking with pestilential grave yards, and foul with innumerable foci of disease, has, at an expense which would have gone far to drain it, thrust upon the people one of the Lawyer's Improvement Acts, and ere a single sanitary step has been taken, ere the parliamentary barristers have well got their fees, now

that the cholera has come down upon Newcastle,\* and the poor of that district are suffering and dying for the selfishness of the rich, shall we who have learnt, many of us in bitter tears and sad bereavements, the lesson which this terrible plague has come, for the third time, to teach us, not insist on its being listened to by the careless, ignorant, and avaricious portion of our countrymen who have hitherto barred from us the boon of national health?

Strange to say, this is the especial time chosen for all the sordid interests opposed to the Health Act, to concentrate themselves in a fierce attack against the very men whom, of all men living, we have chiefly to thank for the progress,—nay, for the very existence, of the science of health! This opposition has been gathering headlong, and since its chance for striking a blow in parliament has disappeared for this year, it is spreading its venom through every channel of the press into

which it can find its way.

The enemy musters formidably: parliamentary barristers, parliamentary engineers, all who fattened on the ever-to-beimproved improvement acts, and got high fees from the old incurable sewerage; owners of bad property, haters of centralization, Tory leaders even,-for the discontent has been converted into political capital, and the whole obstructive power of the worst Conservatism has entered into the movement against the successful Whig measure; these troops, holding here and there a worthy but mistaken partizan of 'Saxon self-government,' and closed in by the usual whooping crew of camp-followers, which swells the cry of every quarrel, yet never knows the merit of any, these troops crowd up, frothing with hate, and eager for the fray. But they are too late; the question of Public Health has passed the straits of difficulty, and passed on out of their reach into the safe heights of a people's intelligence, and there will be nothing for its baffled pursuers but a vain gnashing of teeth, and going growling back to their jungle of selfishness again. Though a few insane cheers may greet, in parliament, the announcement of a coming change in the general Board of Health, and though these cheers be ever so well advertised everywhere, the parliamentary barristers and engineers, who raised the cheer, know well that the Health Act is out of their power, and their struggle is only now, by aid of the partizans they are deceiving, to win place and profit under its banner.

<sup>\*</sup> Dr. Robinson notices a new symptom—'the eyes rolling upward'—in this outbreak. [We have been informed that an eminent medical gentleman in Newcastle thinks the epidemic now raging there, is not cholera, but black fever, caused by bad water.—Eds.]

The days of heavy parliamentary fees paid by towns for permission to be clean are gone by; the barristers know it well; the old expensive drainage so lucrative to engineers is once for all abolished by the cheap tubular sewers; the old engineers know it perfectly at last; the owners of bad tenemented property perceive that they will by and bye be compelled to refrain from poisoning society; and the whole crew are trying in their baffled spite to cheat Mr. Chadwick, Dr. Southwood Smith, Lord Shaftesbury, Lord Carlisle, and the other leaders of the health movement of their well earned fame; and some who ought to have known better have joined the 'common cry of curs.' Of late, however, it has been very evident that the parliamentary engineers, while attacking the new tubular drainage, are only longing for an opportunity of laying it down; and so soon as they declare themselves converts to it, and are willing to carry it out in good faith,-pledging their reputations,-as the engineers of the General Board of Health do for its success, doubtless the engineering of the national health will be thrown open to the engineering profession. But while the salvation of the Public Health Act requires that the pipe drainage be carried out by those who believe in it, and will be answerable for its success, it would be mere folly or insanity to entrust it to any of the engineers who have ever tried to put it aside. Before the power of the present General Board of Health expires, Mr. Chadwick and Dr. Southwood Smith will be enabled to point to many towns in which their cheap system of pipe drainage has been for a length of time in successful operation; they will have accomplished the great task of their lives, and may smile at their baffled traducers. We know nothing personally of any member of the Board of Health, and have no interest in defending them, save that which every grateful citizen owes to faithful and valuable state servants. The outcry, whether of malignity, avarice, or ignorance, which has been raised against them, we feel assured will soon subside, and the nation will learn to rank them with Harvey, Jenner, and Howard, among the best benefactors of mankind.

If governments, as some benevolent enthusiasts believe, are established for the good of the people, the Health Act of 1848 is one of the truest and best pieces of legislation ever delivered to man. Not exciting or showy, like the subjects that agitate or dazzle politicians, the Health Act, like the cleanliness in which it deals, is friendly to all the quiet household virtues that render a people pure, intelligent, and happy. To the cottager as well as to the noble, it dispenses its blessings. In fresh and cleanly homes and persons it lays for the working man the foundations of self-respect; and in the greater comforts, soberer

thoughts and increased intelligence of the masses, it helps to

render firm all the ramparts of the constitution.

The labourer in his cottage, the noble in his palace, the queen on her throne, are, in various ways, equally interested in the progress of this magnificent movement; for, as squalor, misery, and ignorance tend to discontent and revolution, cleanliness, comfort, and health are friendly to industry and peace. The simple elements of water and air, and the homely virtue of cleanliness, seem humble means to effect a great social revolution, which shall leave us a nation so much wiser, healthier, and happier than we are; but it is by simple elements and forces that the miracles of the world are wrought, and it is because the means are so universal and divine in their simplicity that we believe they will be universal and divine in their results.

ART. II.—A Memoir of Charles Mordaunt, Earl of Peterborough and Monmouth. With Selections from his Correspondence. By the Author of 'Hochelaga.' In Two Volumes. London: Longman and Co. 1853.

In reading the great story of mankind, we see much in the past which resembles our own day-reminding us of the German philosopher's remark, that the foreworld is ever like the present time. Amid all the changes of human society—the removal of ancient superstitions—the growth of mind—the development of long occult sciences, and their improved practical application the national advancement towards perfect political freedom; in all man appears, more or less, identical—the same being under an almost infinite variety of phases. The hero of antiquity bears a family likeness to the hero of the last age. Nature constantly repeats herself-her utterances are but variations of her old melody. Athens has no type of humanity for which we do not find on all sides to-day a reality. Imperial Rome, amid the throng of her streets, and the hum and struggle of her city life, had nothing of human speech or deed which may not also be found in the whirl and confusion of London life. Shakespere, delineating the soul, causes to pass before us always the picture of ourselves, or a resemblance to that which we know is still living, and speaking, and doing among us, virtuously or viciously, the deeds of glory or of shame. This continual reproduction is in nothing more manifest than in the political life and habitudes of nations. Reading of mediæval Italy, the superstitions, cruelties and sufferings of its people,—who does not feel that the land and its inhabitants are scarcely changed from the days of Borgia, Sforza, and Orsino—only that the iron hand of Austria goads and wrongs her, in place of a host of ducal oppressors? And who can peruse the story of our own Anne's rule, and with such glimpses of the life of the court, the political intrigue, and the party animosities, which the recent publication of various state papers and family letters afford, without observing how slightly the matter and manner of our party feuds are changed from those

with which our forefathers were conversant?

These remarks have been forcibly suggested by the perusal of the 'Life of Lord Peterborough,' written by the accomplished author of 'Hochelaga.' Chaste in style, graphic in description, of great interest, and admirable in paper and typography, these volumes would have been of even more historical and literary value than they at present possess, had not Mr. Warburton unhappily determined 'to avoid interminable references to the authorities from which each item of information is obtained,'—that is, to give the reader no references at all. Now, in a historical work, nothing, apart from the simplest facts patent to every sciolist in history, ought to be stated on the mere authority of the compiler. Every statement relating to individual character, or to the causes which, directly or indirectly, have produced important results, should also refer the reader to the sources from which the expressed opinion has been derived. History were not distinguishable from fiction, had we not also in the former the confirmatory evidence of contemporaries, which cannot be adduced for the latter. omission to cite authorities, in the present instance, cannot be regarded otherwise than as a singular mistake, founded altogether either on a misconception of the public demand in this matter, or on indifference to that demand. For all the great writers of the past and present age-with one or two exceptions-have found it necessary strictly to comply with the public wish in giving ample reference to authorities. Southey, however unwillingly, was obliged to append to his 'Book of the Church' a list of references. Mr. Henry Hallam's unrivalled works of literary, mediæval, and constitutional history are not merely the best books we have on the subjects of which they treat, but they are inestimably rich in citations. Why does Mr. Warburton permit his work to be an exception to so wise a method? His silence in this matter is the more provoking, from his announcement in the Introduction to these volumes, that 'Among Lord Peterborough's contemporaries, there is hardly a writer of any note who does not make mention

of him, and hardly a correspondence in which he does not figure. His name recurs frequently in all parliamentary and other annals of the time, and many of his manuscript letters are still extant.' Why mention such literary treasure at all, unless clear and exact reference be made to the source and locality of it? It is true, Mr. Warburton does condescend to refer us to Lord Mahon's Collection of the Peterborough Letters, and to inform us of a fact that there needed 'no ghost from the dead' to narrate—that 'a considerable number of his official letters also, many of them highly characteristic, are to be found in the British Museum.' The only accessible work to which Mr. Warburton refers the reader is the little old book, rare now, and of value, 'The Triumphs of Her Majesty's Arms both by Sea and Land, under the Conduct of his Excellency Charles, Earl of Peterborough, &c.' This book was published in 1707. Very much information, however, of Lord Peterborough may be obtained from other works, to which, if use has been made of them, the reader should be referred,—to Burnet's 'History of his own Time;' to Horace Walpole's 'Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors,' in which is a spirited sketch of the eccentric general; to an 'Account of his Conduct in Spain,' written by the Earl's physician, Dr. Friend; and to Captain' Carlton's 'Memoirs.' We have said so much on the subject of 'authorities,' not to disparage Mr. Warburton's 'Memoir,' but to show that its value would be materially increased by reference to the sources from which it has been compiled.

Lord Peterborough was undoubtedly one of the most remarkable men of his age—an age, too, which both in England and in France was abundant in men of genius. There is some doubt as to the exact period of his birth, but probably it took place in 1658—the year in which the rule of the illustrious Oliver came to an end, when that mighty mind, heroically brave, and wondrously clear and strong, ceased to guide the destinies of England. After the Restoration, universal profligacy and licentiousness obtained in this country. The court was the focus from which the vicious light radiated into all parts of the land. The religious teachers, many of them returning as exiles, took possession of those pulpits in which the noble Puritan and Republican divines had taught the living and kindling evangelical truths; and the majority of the restored preachers rather sought the favour of the court for their installation into the happy rectories and vicarages than cared for the spiritual aspect of the Establishment; while some, like South, satanically inspired—he, if any one ever was, as Doddridge remarked fulminated rude and cruel calumnies against the suffering Nonconformists. Literature, which, during the Commonwealth at least, had not been allied to vice and debauchery, pandered to the lustfulness of the court. The very preachers hardly dared to reprove profligacy which the royal purple covered, and they delivered periodically their elaborated or heavy orations, studiously worded for 'ears polite'—the while Howe, Baxter, and others, each in his own manner, gave forth for all time—

'Thoughts that breathe, and words that burn.'

Poetry tuned her harp to low and degraded song, and Dryden allowed his lofty muse to soil her wing with what is painfully obscene - while John Milton, alone, blind, bereaved, and friendless, soared into the spirit-world; sunned his soul in the light ineffable of the divine glory; beheld the joy of the primæval 'blissful seat'; hovered over the dwelling of the lost and the hopeless, and, alike feared and hated of them who could not track his lofty flight, warbled to a sensual and godless people his 'mystic unfathomable song.' It was a confused, degraded age, reactionary upon the rigid morality and religious observances of the Commonwealth period. Brought up at a court so degraded, and in a time so completely licentious, and seeing that many of the religious teachers trimmed to the grosser vices of the age, the young Lord Mordaunt—as Peterborough was termed during his heirship—was early trained to be, what indeed he was during his whole life, a sceptic and a libertine, an intense hater of royalty, and, indeed, viewed from a purely ethical position, 'a bold, bad man.' His is a character, notwithstanding, altogether worthy of the closest study; and had his beautiful widow, the famed Anastasia Robinson, permitted his autobiography to survive its writer—a work, it is said, singularly true to nature in its delineation—the world would have possessed in its Walhalla the strangest psychological phenomenon. No romance supplies altogether so remarkable a character as he. Indeed, the ablest writer of fiction would hesitate to portray a hero in whom such startling contradictions could obtain—the noble and the mean; the grave and the gay; extreme in principle, and yet possessed of no durability of principle; an uncertain friend and a dangerous enemy; 'quick of quarrel' and yet ready in forgiveness; a hero at noon and a jester at sunset; manly in mind and yet childishly fond of pleasure; sternly devoted to the necessary business of the cabinet or the field, an admirable financier, irreproachably honest in all public trusts; with matchless energy and untiring patience, and yet a slave to the silliest vanities, and with all his lofty faculties, his heroic courage, and his great military achievements, utterly useless permanently to his country and his age. Remarkably small and slender in his person; unwearied by exertion; vigilant and indomitable; handsome in feature, and inexpressibly restless, fearless, and enterprising,

the history of the past gives us no more remarkable character than that of Peterborough. At an early age, he evinced that energy and heroism of spirit which all through life distinguished him. Early fighting against Barbary corsairs, and otherwise in the Mediterranean serving in bold and perilous expeditions which delighted his heart, and fanned the flame of his ambition for military renown, Mordaunt attained to man's estate. Returning to England, and marrying while still young, he plunged into the vortex of politics as eagerly as he had engaged in naval Intensely hating Charles II. and his bigoted brother. of whom their boon companion, the Duke of Buckingham, sagaciously said, 'the first could see things if he would; the other would see things if he could,'-the young nobleman soon became an object of great dislike to the court. Numbering among his friends Lord Russell and Algernon Sidney, those great spirits who sighed over the serene nobility and moral heroism of the perished Commonwealth, he indulged with them in romantic dreams of a republic, in which the greatest and the best alone should be thought worthy to rule; and when Sidney was taken to the scaffold, Mordaunt accompanied him, glad thus to show his hatred of the mean and cowardly tyrant who condemned those time-honoured patriots to die. Passing over into Holland, he formed an intimate friendship with John Locke, at the time an exile and a student in that famed republic, wherein, from a very early period, good and great Englishmen, driven out by the tyranny at home, found a secure and peaceful dwelling. Returning with William of Orange, and assisting that stern prince to consolidate his power in England, for some time Mordaunt took no part in politics, but lived chiefly at Parson's Green, in the neighbourhood of London, delighting in literature, associating with the most learned and scientific men of the day; and, busied with his twenty acres of garden, rearing the choicest and loveliest flowers, he became one of the most successful horticulturists of the time. But, with all that could elevate and refine the soul so near at hand, Mordaunt lived in the practice of the lowest vice. So keen to detect and reprove the public sins of others, he was reckless of his own. Extreme in all things, he could not be content with common vice; but, if ever he discovered a depth of immorality in any man, his impulsive nature strove to make for itself a deeper still. Irreligious, and morally unreflecting, giving the rein to a disgusting animalism, and chilling or destroying the better aspirations of his nature by a cold and heartless infidelity, he loved to be considered the most notoriously loose liver of the age. Speedily he imbibed a dislike of the Dutch William, and of the stern retirement and phlegmatic haughtiness of his nature, and in one so warm and imprudent that dislike settled into strong hate, which Mordaunt with his frankness and boldness could not conceal. Succeeding, in 1697, to the title and to a portion of the estates of his uncle, Mordaunt became Earl of Peterborough. drawing from English society, he sought and found upon the continent men of lofty intellect, who had great power over this lawless, fitful mind, and at once instructed and delighted the man who, had his earlier impressions been good, might perhaps have exerted a happy influence upon his contemporaries, and bequeathed a rare example of piety and patriotism to a remote posterity. When abroad, he visited Fénélon, at Cambray, and, won over by the irresistible sweetness and goodness of that famed divine, found himself compelled to relinquish for a season his heartless infidelity, allured in some degree, at least, by the potent persuasion of his host, towards those brighter spheres of faith and virtue to which he was a stranger. So powerful was the influence of Fénélon over his guest, that the impulsive and determinate unbeliever said to the Chevalier Ramsay, 'On my word, I must quit this place as soon as possible, for if I stay here another week, I shall be a Christian in spite of myself.' Gladly would we hope that, beneath the outward husk of resolute infidelity, there lived, however minutely, some seed of faith and truth; but, alas! his whole life forbids even the momentary entertainment of the thought!

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, King William III. died, giving as his last advice to his successor, that Marlborough should be selected as the ablest man to conduct the national affairs, both in peace and war; and a new day dawned upon England—a day of victory abroad, and of constant party-plotting and political animosity at home. Either to divert the attention of the nation from its sad domestic condition, or to gratify that insatiable desire to interfere in the affairs of other kingdoms which has been for ages distinctive of English ministries, the government urged Queen Anne to take an active part in continental politics; an additional motive for which interference was, perhaps, rather a desire to counteract the growing influence of France than to gain military glory for the English name. It may not be uninteresting or uninstructive to our readers if we glance at the condition of Europe at this period, and at the causes which produced the long and bloody wars, resulting in Marlborough's victories in the Netherlands, and in Peterborough's in Spain.

Charles II. of Spain died without issue, in 1700, leaving the people of the country he had ruled, impoverished and wretched at home, and humiliated by defeat abroad. As he had no

children, various artifices were used to induce him to name a successor. After much entreaty, the dying king selected Philip of Anjou, the grandson of the old king of France. England favoured the pretensions of his rival the Archduke Charles, second son of Loopold emperor of Austria. It is enough for the purpose of explanation, to make so brief an allusion to those causes which produced the long, bloody, and costly war of the Spanish Succession. A fuller recital here is not necessary, because our readers can refer for complete information on this important period of European history, among other valuable sources, to Lord Mahon's excellent work on the 'War of Succession,' and to Archdeacon Coxe's 'History of the House of Austria,' and, chiefly, to that able writer's 'History of the Kings of Spain and the House of Bourbon,'—strictly honest works,

of great labour and research.

Determined upon an active opposition to the ambitious policy of the French monarch, Marlborough was despatched into Flanders, where he won imperishable renown. Peterborough was sent with a ridiculously small force to co-operate with Charles in Spain. His expedition sailed from Spithead, in May, 1705—a force of 5000 Anglo-Dutch troops, miserably equipped and provided. Arriving at the eastern side of the Spanish peninsula, Peterborough resolved on active operations. We have not space, nor, indeed, would it be at all within the purpose of this article, to detail the heroic and marvellous exploits of this consummate leader in Spain,-exploits which, showing strangely in the annals of our country, where many a page is bright with the glory of military prowess, would be pronounced utterly incredible if found in a work of romance. He attacked the strong and rich city of Barcelona; with a mere handful of men, and ill-provided with the costly material of war, he carried the citadel of Montjuic, one of the strongest and best garrisoned in Spain, memorable, in these later days, in the campaigns of Suchet, and, subsequently, in Carlist and Christino warfare, and in seditions against the viceroyalty of Espartero. Leaving a small garrison in that fortress, he hurried southward, and carried the city of Valencia; swept like a whirlwind over the provinces, causing whole armies to disperse, even at the sight of his few travel-stained dragoons; performing deeds of the strangest valour—Fortune smiling on her favourite child; and he verifying, by his extreme rapidity of movement, and by his unceasing prevarication and falsehood, the words of his friend Swift, that he was 'the ramblingest lying rogue on earth;' a jester even in his campaigns, and making warfare a pleasure; winning the admiration and love of all classes of the Spanish people with whom he came in contact; striking unheard-of terror into the enemies of the allied force, who fled almost at the sound of his name;he leaves us, even at this distance of time, in doubt whether his genius was madness, or his madness the activity of that restless and incomprehensible genius. Profoundly wise in council, clear in conception, and rapid in execution, always fighting and always conquering, he was, notwithstanding, unable to effect anything of lasting value for Charles. That narrow-minded and bigoted prince refused to carry out the plans which Peterborough had devised with consummate foresight and ability. Peterborough, however, was dogmatical, tyrannical, and arbitrary to the last degree. He was a man who could not brook a doubt of the wisdom and skill of his conceptions, and withal, imperious and furious in temper towards any who opposed him, or thwarted his plans. He became an object of great dislike, not merely to Charles, but to all the allied commanders—a dislike so ungratefully and ungraciously manifested, that the indignant general subsequently withdrew from military service in Spain, and hurrying through Europe, narrowly escaping capture by a French squadron on the way, arrived in England, in the August of 1707, exclaiming on his landing: 'I have overcome all my enemies except lies, and those I have papers enough with me to defeat.' But blame, for the ultimate miscarriage of the British affairs in Spain, is not justly attributable to Peterborough. The German and Spanish officers on the staff of Charles continually thwarted him, ridiculed his plans when submitted to council, and, when adopted, did all that lay in their power to prevent their complete and successful realization. Slow, deliberative, and cautious, even to a proverb; haughty, and intolerant of wisdom superior to their own, with which they had the completest satisfaction; they could not fully comprehend, nor harmoniously co-operate with, the daring English general, to whom 'difficulties were a delight,' the perils and anxieties of war the means of an almost delirious pleasure, and 'obstacles the stepping-The Spanish people, still possessing their stones to success.' hereditary courage and admiration for chivalrous deeds, held him in much esteem, thoroughly understanding the character of the extraordinary man, who, with the rapidity and devastation of a tropical tempest, swept away their enemies, carried almost inaccessible fortresses with a handful of troops, and inspired the hardy guerrilla-bands with unprecedented enthusiasm. Over the small English force which he commanded, Peterborough had a great and peculiar influence. The men, fighting with painful endurance in a foreign land, penniless, half-starved, shoeless, and almost entirely destitute of military equipment, ceased to murmur when he headed the column, and proudly

followed the marvellous little man who led them only to victory. Liberal to extravagance with his own resources, he husbanded the public money with an unheard-of frugality; but the arrogance of the Spanish officers, and the indolence of the phlegmatic Germans prevented the entire subjugation of the Spanish peninsula,—a fact to which he bitterly alluded in a letter to Lord Halifax, 'There cannot be worse company than a beggarly German and a proud Spaniard, particularly to my humour.' After his successes in Valencia, he had repeatedly urged Charles to advance upon Madrid, as the road was clear, the enemy scattered or at a distance, and the capital all but defenceless. That royal aspirant, counselled by his staff, replied that he had not a sufficient equipage to enter, as the king of Spain should enter, the metropolis of his great kingdom, and, therefore, that he must decline acceding to the English general's urgent request. 'Sire,' exclaimed the honest and indignant Englishman, 'our William the Third entered London in a hackney, with a cloakbag behind it, and was made king not many weeks after!'

On his return to England, Peterborough found that his enemies had been busy in their accusations against him, and it was offensively laid to his charge, and generally by persons who had no direct personal knowledge of the matters on which they so dogmatically pronounced—that he had urged Charles not to march upon Madrid; that he had withheld from the king the monies which he had in hand; that his camp-habits were altogether at variance with military propriety and the dignity becoming an English general; and that his despatches were unusual in their style, and scanty in the information they conveyed. Dean Swift has left the following on record, as proof of the injustice of the outery raised against him:—'The only general who, by a course of conduct and fortune almost mira culous, had nearly put us in possession of the kingdom of Spain, was left wholly unsupported, exposed to the envy of his rivals, disappointed by the caprices of a young and inexperienced prince under the guidance of a rapacious German minister, and at last called home in discontent.' The complaint expressed against Lord Peterborough's military proceedings is another evidence of the truth so patent in connexion with the Duke of Wellington's campaigns in the Peninsula, and latterly with Sir Harry Smith's at the Cape—that the public, in general, are but poor judges of military operations, conducted at a distance from this country, and that the public censure, so often loudly and angrily spoken against unsuccessful generals, arises, in many cases, from an inadequate or false conception of the various difficulties which render their operations slow and unproductive of successful results.

Once more at home, Lord Peterborough engaged with great ardour in politics; and he speedily regained his popularity. Even the pulpit was used to laud the illustrious commander. Stanhope, Dean of Canterbury, in a sermon preached before the queen, at St. Paul's, alluded to the general's achievements in an exalted style of panegyric, stating that 'his activity, and vigour, and noble fire pressed on apace, and quickly rendered him a sanctuary to the friends and a terror to the enemies of his cause.' In February, 1709, Peterborough's second son. Henry Mordaunt, a captain in the royal navy, died of small-pox, after an illness of only a day or two; and six weeks afterwards, the same mysterious disease, which, at that time misunderstood and badly treated, made such fearful havoe in all ranks of life, carried off Peterborough's eldest son, Lord Mordaunt, a majorgeneral in the army. In the following May, Lady Peterborough died of 'squinzy;' and thus, at the age of fifty, widowed and childless, this remarkable soldier found himself alone in the world. Rallying from the effect of these tremendous visitations. which would have overwhelmed and destroyed almost any other man, he resolved to give himself up more and more to public affairs -a plan, perhaps, not injudiciously adopted by a man whose cold, sceptical philosophy blinded him to a perception of the kindly movements of that divine hand which often smites to heal,—a system of heartless negations which ever warped his soul from the source of all good, and which forbad him the consolations of of religion. At this time, he numbered among his friends, Swift, Prior, Lewis, Gay, Atterbury, Friend, and Berkeley-names occupying no mean place on the roll of illustrious Englishmen. The ministry at home, knowing his caprice, fearful that he might become an enemy, and suspicious of him as an ally, resolved upon giving him employment, for the convenient purpose of removing a man so reckless, uncertain and dangerous out of the way. Accordingly, in December, 1709, he was appointed envoy to Vienna, 'to endeavour to adjust those differences between the emperor and the Duke of Savoy which had been the cause of so many inactive campaigns on the side of Italy; and to concert measures for carrying on the war in Spain with more vigour.' Before his embarkation, he received the thanks of the House of Lords for his brilliant services in Spain-thanks, indeed, tardily given, but compensative to the mercurial general for his brief loss of popularity. Arriving in Vienna, he remained a short time there, often negotiating in matters for which he had no authority, and insatiable in his love of pleasure and display. Receiving despatches from the English cabinet which were personally offensive to him, he determined to return home, travelling with almost

incredible speed, and landing at Yarmouth, in June—his rapidity of movement verifying what had been said of him, that he had seen 'more kings and more postilions than any man in Europe.' Swift gives the following account of this remarkable journey—'Lord Peterborough is returned from Vienna, without one servant. He left them scattered in different towns in Germany. I had a letter from him, four days ago, from Hanover, where he desires I would immediately send him an answer to his house at Parson's Green. I wondered what he meant, till I heard he was come. He sent expresses, and got here before them. He is above fifty, and as active as one of twenty-five.' This brief narrative reminds us of the verses which Swift wrote in his praise, a part of which only we have space to quote:—

'Mordanto gallops on alone,
The roads are with his followers strown,
This breaks a girth, and that a bone.

'So wonderful his expedition,
When you have not the least suspicion,
He's with you like an apparition.

'Shines in all climates like a star, In senates bold, and fierce in war, A land commander, and a tar.'

In 1715, Peterborough, after a long indulgence in dissipation, became acquainted with the beautiful Anastasia Robinson, one of the most lovely and accomplished operatic singers of the eighteenth century. Possessed of remarkable fascination, admired of all, but corrupted of none, her purity of character, not less than her personal attractiveness, conquered the eversusceptible heart of Peterborough; for profligates, in their admiration of the fair who are also of pure reputation, pay homage to the beauty and majesty of virtue. With an exquisite taste for music, which had been cultivated with great wisdom and industry, and with a voice originally a soprano, but which had settled into a rich contralto, fully developed by the most careful training, the young singer became the prima donna in that age. Devoting herself to singing in public, in order to support her father, a blind and impoverished artist, she realized a yearly income of £2000, and had 'all the town at her feet.' Among the noblemen who sought her society, Peterborough, although disreputable in character, and unscrupulous in his means to gratify his passions, stood the highest in her favour. She could not be insensible to the solicitations of a man who regarded none virtuously but her, who had attained a reputation for chivalrous courage and highest military talent throughout the civilized world, and who acknowledged that, by her only of all women, was a good influence exercised upon him; but it was necessary for her to be assured that his intentions were pure and honourable. At length, he formally proposed marriage to the virtuous and noble-minded woman; and, to the lasting disgrace of Peterborough, ashamed that it should be bandied about among the gossips that a man of his rank had married an opera-singer, he gained her consent that their marriage should not be publicly announced 'till a more convenient time for making it known should arrive.' Thus, his wretched vanity not only prevented the complete happiness of their union, but—what a man of honour would feel most keenly—it caused the ever-prying and fondly-malicious public to doubt the virtue of a woman, towards whom never before had the finger of envy and slander been pointed. We subjoin a quotation from these charming volumes:—

'Peterborough's marriage had made little change in his outward life. He still lived much in the society of those who suited his taste, and who would bear with the uncontrollable violence of his temper, and the great eccentricity of his conduct. His principal friends were still Swift and Pope, the latter of whom Lady Wortley Montague accuses of having courted him, and several other old men whom she names, in the hope of being left legacies. Peterborough had very little to leave. His extravagance at all times, but especially his magnificence in Spain, and in his continental embassies, had materially diminished a property, which had never been very considerable. Years before this, the spiteful Duchess of Marlborough described him as having "wasted his fortune, and worn out his credit." He certainly never sought to replenish them at the public expense. Although now, not far from three score years of age, his strange vivacity continued undiminished. At times he astonished London with acts of eccentricity bordering upon insanity; in word and deed he was reckless of all consequences. Had not he been, to a great extent, a privileged person from his wellknown oddities, he would, without doubt, have met with some fatal check in those days, when the laws of polite society were written in blood. One day that he was passing through the Strand in his coach, he saw a player in full court dress with white stockings, picking his way through the street, which chanced to be unusually dirty. Peterborough was seized with an irresistible desire for mischief; he jumped from his coach, drew his sword, rushed violently at the poor player, who immediately took to flight in the greatest alarm, and utterly regardless of his white silk stockings. His relentless assailant followed him with determined pertinacity, pushed him behind with his sword, and forcing him through the filthiest part of the streets, till the man was dabbled with mud, from the powdered wig down to the once white silk stockings. Having accomplished his purpose, Peterborough returned to his coach, reseated himself with great gravity, and pro-

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ceeded on his business. He frequently gave dinner-parties at Peterborough House, and sometimes entertained his guests with admirable music, in which Bononcini, Greene, and others of the most famous performers of the day assisted Anastasia Robinson. Sometimes he amused and delighted them, by relating his adventures in Spain and elsewhere, which, marvellous as they really were, lost nothing by his mode of describing them. Among other things, he was in the habit of stating, that during the War of the Succession, he had frequently been in danger of famishing for want of food; and that, even when he could get it, he was often obliged to cook it himself. Certain it was, that until disabled by advancing age, he constantly did so, and those who have dined with him at Parson's Green, have seen him at work in a dress for the purpose, like that of a tavern-cook: he usually retired from his company about an hour before dinner-time, and having despatched his culinary affairs, would return properly dressed to his place among the guests, and astonish them by his wit and varied information.'—Vol. ii. p. 196-199.

Towards the close of George I.'s reign, debauchery, gambling, and atheism, threatened to subvert the very orders of society. Clubs were formed—the Hell Fire Club, as it was called, taking the lead-for the purpose of discountenancing religion, encouraging blasphemy, and promoting atheism; and their evil effect upon the people was so sudden and extensive, that the government, finding it necessary to interfere, introduced a measure in parliament. The bishops, shrewdly having an eye to their own particular interests, thought that this would be a favourable time for checking the freedom of worship, which, after great suffering and exertion, the nonconformists had wrung from the legislature; and accordingly they procured the insertion of a clause in the bill, which made it a felony even to speak against the Thirty-nine Articles. The bill was thrown out; but during its discussion in the Upper House, Peterborough, who hated the bishops, and not the less for their intolerance, resisted the measure with the memorable words,—' Although I am for a parliamentary king, I have no desire for a parliamentary God, or a parliamentary religion; and if the house be for such an one, I shall go to Rome and endeavour to be chosen a cardinal, for I would rather sit in the conclave than with your lordships on these terms.'

When George II. came to the throne, he introduced at court an English woman of damaged reputation, his mistress, the Countess of Suffolk, who exercised great influence there. During his latter years, Peterborough disgraced himself by entering into a long amatory correspondence with this woman—she forty years of age, and he between sixty and seventy—Peterborough the while asserting, with strange inconsistency, that all his affections were fixed upon his noble-minded and

virtuous wife. A number of letters, which formed a part of this correspondence, are preserved-remarkable for much shallow thought and sickly sentiment, and admirably attesting the wisdom of the old proverb, that of all fools an old fool is chief. During his latter years he enjoyed the society of Alexander Pope, that voluptuous poet, whose muse preferred the luxurious ease of Twickenham to the rugged grandeur of Helicon; and with him and Swift the old soldier gave himself up to those literary pursuits which had been his delight in youth. At his small country-house, Bevis Mount, overlooking the Southampton-water, and in the society of his noble wife, Peterborough quietly passed the evening of some portion of his long and chequered life; his thoughts chiefly directed to poetry, vine-pruning, and gardening, not, alas! directed to those exalting and purifying truths which alone can smooth the downward path to death, and open up to the dim eye of age vistas of beauty and serene joy beyond His peculiar and eccentric habits continued even to the Lady Hervey, who met him at Bath, in 1725, writes,— 'It is a comical sight to see him with his blue ribbon and star, and a cabbage under each arm, or a chicken in his hand, which, after he himself has purchased at market, he carries home for But the end was at hand. In 1735, he was attacked by a malignant disorder, which had repeatedly threatened him during his long and adventurous life. His physicians recommended him to try the milder air of Lisbon, at that time a noted place of resort for invalids. Peterborough was now seventy-seven years old, and seeing how thickly the shadows were falling on his path, he knew his hour was near. There was one thing to be done before he died—a matter of simple justice to his beloved and faithful Anastasia—publicly to acknowledge her as his wife. Even this justice, it is to be feared, was rendered rather from necessity than from choice. He appointed a day for all his relations to meet him in his rooms, at St. James's Palace, where, in the presence of them all, he acknowledged his countess, and informed them that they had been many years married. Shortly afterwards he sailed for Lisbon, and there—on the shore of that peninsula where his chief fame had been won-watched over with devoted love by her whom he had so long dishonoured, but, as it would seem, without one ray of hope to illumine the dense darkness of his soul, and to be his guiding light to a sure haven and an eternal life, he passed away. Glory without virtue, genius without truth, incessant activity without a purpose or an aim, and a life without God-these darkly characterize Charles Mordaunt, Earl of Peterborough, glorious as a soldier, but degraded as a man.

We have made some exception to these volumes because

they have no references to the historical authorities from which they were compiled. That is an evil which a second edition may easily remedy. Of the work itself we cannot speak too highly. Skilfully arranged, clearly and thrillingly told, containing many just and admirable sentiments, it is the life-story of one of the most remarkable men of any age or country. The portraiture is life-like and glowing, and will repay the attentive perusal of the historical student, who seeks accurate information of the men and manners—the life of the English people—at a period of our national development of which, as yet, the historians have been few.

ART. III.—The Natural History of Infidelity and Superstition in Contrast with Christian Faith. Eight Divinity Lecture Sermons, Preached before the University of Oxford in the Year 1852, on the Foundation of the late Rev. John Bampton, M.A., Canon of Salisbury. By Joseph Esmond Riddle, M.A. London: John W. Parker and Son. 8vo. pp. 520.

Notwithstanding the revival of infidel speculations which our age has witnessed, and the unexpected success which has attended the emissaries of a corrupt faith in their attempts to resuscitate defunct superstitions, there are yet many auspicious omens which may well cheer and unite the friends of pure Christianity. On every side the advocates of truth are girding themselves to a thorough investigation of first principles, and of all the objections and difficulties alleged by the different classes of opponents. The tactics of the enemy, the peculiar strategy employed, the resources on which he depends and from which he draws his strength-all are engaging the attention of the Christian apologist; and there is every reason to hope that when the present conflict shall have terminated, as no doubt it will, like all former conflicts, in the augmented honour and strength of true religion, Christianity will then assume a position and reach an eminence from which it may complacently smile at the insults and assaults of the unbelieving; and then also the minds of men will be better secured against the perversions of superstition.

The agitation of religious questions, from the most profound to the most frivolous, was, perhaps, never greater or more general among all classes of society than at the present time.

Everywhere there is an eager desire to arrive at a decisive and thorough settlement of questions which affect the foundations of human belief, and intertwine themselves with the fibres of our moral and intellectual being. Since men have obtained the right to doubt freely and discuss openly all religious questions, without damage to their social position and rights, and free trade in thought and speech has become as popular as free trade in the markets of the world, it is not wonderful that there should appear excesses in opposite directions. Mere human authority, however venerable, has lost its prestige. Stereotyped orthodoxy is in all departments at a discount. Inquiry cannot be frowned down, nor silenced; for the million stand foot to foot with the unit, and demand discussion, proofs, reasons. Every wise and large-hearted Christian must be convinced that even if he could do it, it would be unworthy and impolitic to resist the inquisitive tendencies which have seized upon the masses of society. These tendencies are infinitely more hopeful than the stupidity and apathy of former ages. Christianity awakens the lethargic, carnalized spirit of man, puts him upon the exercise of thought and reason, announces to him the right of private judgment, and at the same time protects and guards it by pointing to the tremendous responsibility which it involves. In many an instance, no doubt, we have to regret the abuse of human powers, the want of balance in their exercise, and the perversion of liberty into licentiousness; but to repress even the excesses of the human mind by authority, or to check it by harshness, or by imprecations and fulminations of divine wrath, would only disgrace the religion of light and love, and provoke the bitter scorn of the unbeliever. It is more consistent with the pure love of truth, and with a manly confidence in its final triumph, to face all opponents in fair and calm debate. Men will investigate for themselves; and every Christian ought to say, 'let them.' If they profess to seek truth, and none are so loud in this profession as those who are most opposed to the Bible and those who most pervert it, we only excite suspicion if we attempt to repress their ardour or deny their claim. More light is falling every day upon a thousand questions in philosophy and science. Our knowledge is becoming more accurate, deeper, and more systematized. The dusty corners are being searched and swept. Every crevice is being explored, and many a closeted and long-neglected truth is brought forth to the light; many a familiar and useless dogma has been and will be thrown aside as useless; and amidst the universal review and stock-taking of our mental and religious professions, we must expect that men will bring to bear upon their religious belief the best light they have been able to collect from all the sources within their reach. Christianity is THE TRUTH—therefore it is a part, an essential and central part of that great unity after which the human mind is labouring. It will harmonize with the whole of human knowledge. It is natural, indeed, that during the period of this general inquisition, this anatomy of ourselves, we should be pained and shocked, and sometimes fearful of the issue; yet we cannot but believe that the prospects of truth in the present day, in relation to both the formidable adversaries that resist its progress, are far from

discouraging.

With regard to infidelity, we must remember that its present character is peculiar. It differs greatly from that of former periods. It is not the gross, low, revolting atheism which prevailed half a century ago-especially upon the continent of Europe—an infidelity, of which Robert Hall could say, with perfect confidence, 'its enormities will hasten its overthrow.' Even among the lower classes, where, if anywhere, we should expect such a form of infidelity to succeed, it exists to no great extent. Atheism, no doubt, has its advocates among us-as blind and fatalistic an atheism as that of the French Revolution -but it is less rabid, less inhuman, less immoral, less political in its character, and, therefore, it is more assailable by the weapons of a sound and calm logic. Nor again, can we look to a still earlier period to find the resemblance or type of the infidelity which prevails at present. The objections raised by such authors as Collins, Bolingbroke, Woolstone, and others, have, it is true, found many to draw them out of their hiding places, and dress them up in a new-fangled terminology, calling attention to them as the discoveries of our prolific modern mind, and proofs of our rapid progress in knowledge. But though the weapons are for the most part the same, the method and the spirit of the attack are altogether different. Objections are less elaborately wrought out, and urged with a less aggressive empressement. The suspense of scepticism, or a state of doubt, is the more usual result now of an infidel argument or treatise, such as seems to catch the ear of a portion of the public.

The prevailing tone of infidelity is a strange mixture of sounds—it delights to mock and sport with everything sacred and religious—while it creates nothing to meet the wants and aspirations of man. It was never more thoroughly a negation than at the present moment, a mere animalism, or secularism confined to the narrow bound of three score years and ten. A positive and dogmatic deism is comparatively rare. There is a strange mingling together of all sorts of objections without method, as though infidelity began to feel the difficulty of maintaining anything better than a guerilla warfare against

Christianity. At best it arrays but an undisciplined rabble of arguments, and mixes men of all arms in the mêlée. There is

no regular siege.

The infidelity of our time takes up no positive ground of its own. It is reluctant to affirm anything, encircles itself with doubts, and is content to annoy believers with mere difficulties, with attempts to pull down without any efforts of construction either for itself or others. It is a fact not without significance that, while the age is distinguished by straightforwardness, reality, and positivism, the advocates of infidelity, of all shades and classes, are marked by the very opposite qualities. They delight to perplex, to quibble, to raise doubts, and argue upon mere supposititious premises, or partial and limited inductions. They display equal deficiency in logic and in fairness. Paley and Butler are ridiculed, but not answered. Difficulties are often urged with vehemence and with wit, but the whole argument in favour of Christianity is never treated, never analyzed. Side blows are frequent, insinuations abound, but a direct blow at the foundation is never attempted. The arguments in which Christians have reposed so long, and yet repose, have never been proved illogical or without historical foundation. Antiquated, worn-out, behind the age, unfit for an age whose watchword is 'progression'-they are often styled by the would-be sages of our time; but the same calm, thorough, unflinching examination of the arguments they explode, has never been given by infidels, which the friends of revelation have so often given to the reasonings of a Hume or the speculations of a Strauss. In an age like this it is impossible that this fact should be concealed. When both sides are fairly heard in the argument, Christianity cannot fail to triumph. The cause which has sustained the direct and fierce assaults of infidelity from the days of Julian to those of Gibbon, is not likely to fall before the logic and cavils of the modern school.

We must not forget, moreover, that it is now customary among infidel speculators to make the most unexpected, and as it seems to us, suicidal, concessions to Christianity:—its moral excellence and beauty; its beneficial influence upon the social condition of nations; the sublimity of many of the books of Scripture; the inexplicable excellence and naturalness of the character of Jesus; these are often admitted, sometimes expatiated upon. The language of the Bible is often considered and chosen as the fittest vehicle for the flights of our philosophical spiritualism; and men who laugh at the idea of inspiration (at least in the Christian use of the word), dwell with eestatic delight and impassioned eloquence upon the depth, comprehensiveness, and pathos of our Lord's discourses, and

the mysterious significance of his actions. Now, surely all these things must tend to expose the inconsistency of infidels, and to loosen the hold of their arguments upon the minds of the people.

We seem to be passing through a kind of transition state. Just as in the process of crystalization, there is a short interval when the confused mass is evidently assuming a new arrangement, and settling more and more into a brilliant combination of definite forms; so it may fairly be hoped that the heterogeneous and conflicting elements of society which at present seem to be passing through a period of confusion and transition, will ere long take upon them the permanent form of a more general and hearty belief in the divine character of Christianity.

In relation to superstition, also, the position of pure Christianity seems to be encouraging. The forms of superstition are so various, its influences so subtle, its hold upon human nature so powerful, that we must expect it to disappear only in proportion as the Christian faith is practically received. Nor need we wonder at the degree in which the credulity of men is imposed on by the arts of the designing, or the extravagancies of the fanatical, while there are deeply-rooted tendencies in our nature which are gratified alternately by superstition and scepticism. Yet we are surprised sometimes to hear good and thoughtful men own their belief, that it is not highly improbable that, after a few generations, Rome, with all her degrading errors and barbarizing discipline, may regain her dominion over the general mind of England. Though we respect the judgment of those who express such fears, and cannot deem them wholly frivolous and unfounded, yet there are certain broad principles in view, of which we feel obliged to pronounce such fears unnecessary and groundless. We admit that many among certain classes (perhaps more the upper than the middle) have of late years been much affected by papal tendencies. of intelligence and learning have forsaken the faith of their fathers. We admit that education in itself, and in the individual mind, is no effectual bar to the progress of superstition. We admit the wiliness and almost exhaustless strategy of Rome, and that many of her doctrines (as Archbishop Whately has so ably shown) are not so far removed from the tastes and sympathies, and even modes of thoughts prevailing among us, as to exclude the idea of their successful propagation. what are the lessons taught us by the past three centuries? What are the tendencies of society? In what direction are the most fundamental and onward movements of that society? Surely not towards mental and moral subjugation. England is more thoroughly protestant, more intelligently anti-catholic, than when Henry VIII. demolished the monasteries, or Cromwell battered the cathedrals. The bulk of our people know more about Rome, its history and its practices, than they ever did. They are more thoroughly aware of the dangers to be apprehended from her. They read history, they read controversy, and many would be prepared to meet and expose the errors which Romish zealots propagate; and still more feel, and feel strongly too, that the protestant religion of England is the safeguard of her liberties, her prosperity, and her honour. We shall seek in vain in history for an analogy to what would be the case if England should sink again to the vassalage under which all popish countries groan. True, individual states have risen to a high degree of intellectual and commercial greatness, and again fallen to utter ruin. The lights of knowledge and civilization have blazed up here and there in the world, and yet in the same places, after a lapse of ages, have flickered and

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But such instances of retrogression would not be analogous. The Reformation, which delivered England from the thraldom of Rome, was the result of the gradual long-continued progress of the European nations in mental and social greatness, from which man does not recede, save by some strange shock or inroad of barbarism. Fluctuations there may be, but the tide is still flowing; the advance is actual and permanent. Rome may aim to accommodate herself to the conditions of an improving society, and can easily do so to one whose chief progress is in luxury and wealth; but in England, at least, we have this great fact before us-Rome was dominant, but has been overthrown; overthrown not by the fitfulness of kingly passions, nor by the peculiar and casual combination of circumstances, but by the general revolt of the national mind from its mental and moral usurpation. The Reformation in England was the outburst of feeling long pent up and ripening for the effort. The elements would not much longer have been restrained, even if the monarch had not let them loose. The stride forward which was taken by our country in the sixteenth century was one of general advancement,—an advancement which was, more or less, participated in by the whole of civilized Europe; but in which England was far ahead, as she has ever since been, and is still.

Judging by the light of history, then, we believe that it is no more possible that England should recede to such a state as would be absolutely necessary, if Rome is to be again dominant, than that European civilization in general should suddenly commence a backward movement towards barbarism. The effect of any great insurrection of the human mind against the

bondage that has confined it is never lost. Rome may gain advantages through the indolence, corruption, and unwariness of a particular age or nation, and begin to boast that her power is reviving; but she has an eternal enemy in the tendencies of human nature, not in intellectual acquirement as such—not in the secular prosperity of states, nor their high civilization as such, for we know that in the individual man these may exist together with the grossest superstition—but in that sure and irresistible development so clearly evident in history, of all the elements of social strength and happiness, to which Rome is essentially adverse, and with which vassalage to her cannot co-exist.

Nor ought we to overlook in the present day the hopeful aspect of the political and social systems in our country. We all know how greatly the prosperity of the cause of truth depends among any people upon prosperity in their social state; and if any nation in the world is advancing steadily towards a solid social and political prosperity, it is our own. May we not hope, without being accused of being fondly and foolishly sanguine, that the day of the peaceful triumph of true religion is approaching? The more perplexing and harassing problems affecting our material and national interests are advancing towards a solution, and the search after truth seems likely to become more sincere, disinterested, and earnest. Men will soon begin more generally and clearly to recognise the bearings of Christianity upon the well-being of society and the highest happiness of the individual. The practical, moral, and social evils of infidel speculations will be increasingly obvious, and will therefore be prevented. Their attractiveness, as relaxing the laws of morality, and promising more scope for libertinism, will in great measure pass away, and as this takes place the disposition to doubt the evidences of our faith will subside. Just as when the noisy clamours which drown the voice of reason and truth in some great assembly are hushed into a solemn pause, and then comes the time for Wisdom to speak, so will come the moment to Christianity, when with resistless power she may press home her claims. Truth will win a march upon Error which she will never lose; the ranks of the enemy will begin to waver; the day will be won; and the deserters from superstition and infidelity will hasten to enrol themselves under the banner of Jesus.

Looking thus hopefully towards the future, we hail with rejoicing every contribution to our literature from master-spirits among us bearing upon the religious agitations of the day; and we feel sure that our readers will join us in approving the choice which the authorities at Oxford made for the last Bampton lecturer, and of the choice Mr. Riddle made of the subject for his lectures. It is one which has hitherto been much neglected under the supposition, probably, that it possessed merely a philosophical interest. And yet surely if we would not only meet the specific objections of infidelity, and expose the delusions of superstition, but secure men against both by laying open the paths that lead to them, we must understand more clearly the hidden springs from which disbelief and misbelief arise, and endeavour to correct the evil at its source.

The inquiries which belong to the natural history of infidelity and superstition are not merely curious; they involve points of high importance, and have a bearing eminently practical both upon systems of education, and upon pulpit instruction. We are, therefore, glad to find a writer like Mr. Riddle giving them that patient and vigorous thought they require, and bringing to the examination and discussion the results of his accurate learning and extensive research and reading.

We shall endeavour to give our readers an idea of Mr. Riddle's method of treating his subject, by a short account of his principal topics, and of the conclusions at which he arrives.

In the first Lecture, he takes a general survey of man's nature, enumerating the most important of the powers and capacities of the human soul as they are found in operation both in their integrity as endowments essential to the completeness of the soul, and yet as in a state of corruption or degeneracy—tracing, as far as possible, the disturbing and deranging effects of sin

upon the mental and moral constitution.

There is nothing peculiarly striking or novel in Mr. Riddle's views of the mental powers. His explanations are generally concise, and his language clear and classical. He acquiesces in the distinctions approved by the most eminent modern metaphysicians. He takes up the philosophy of the mind generally as they have mapped it. The Noetic faculty, or the 'reason' (more properly denominated 'intellect,' vous, locus principiorum), is marked out as having a province distinct from that of the Dianoetic faculty (Loyos Sizvoiz, -more strictly 'reason.') Mr. Riddle holds that there is a separate faculty of moral perception and judgment: 'not,' as he observes, 'that this judgment of the mind creates the distinction between right and wrong; that distinction already exists in the immutable relations of things, according to the will of God; and it is this real distinction, not any mere phantom of our own devising, which the mind has the power of discovering.' The place, in our intellectual nature, of a fundamental principle is assigned to 'faith,' which is described as 'the faculty of grasping evidence, with a propensity to admit it when duly presented to the mind.' It is compared with 'the discerning of external objects by sensation and perception, or the discovery and discerning of truths by reason. Mr. Riddle also explicitly recognises 'the secondary and instrumental' position of the understanding or the logical faculty, which distinguishes, classifies, arranges, and infers. His remarks on the relation of faith to our intellectual nature generally, are eminently just and valuable,—showing how the action of faith harmonizes with that of reason, and is not limited or checked, but rather assisted in its exercise by the

logical understanding.

In treating of the will, we observe a want of that clearness which distinguishes Mr. Riddle's other statements. referring to the province, the characteristics and functions of the will, it appears to us that he employs the term in the oldfashioned, but now discarded sense of emotions and affections, as well as volitions. 'Emotions of pleasure or pain, affections of love or aversion, the springs of wishes, of desires, of volitions,' are said to be 'the active, living power we denominate the will.' We can scarcely think that Mr. Riddle intended to identify the emotional states with the element of spontaneity under one denomination; but the terminology he adopts does not keep them distinct. The freedom of the will is very clearly asserted. 'There is no foreign restraint or force determining its choice;' but the metaphysical difficulty is not solved when it is said 'it is properly subject to the influence of motive, and is capable of being disciplined and strengthened by the force of practical habits.' We feel far from confident that the following statements can be made to harmonize: - Wishes, desires, and volitions follow in the track of emotions and affections,' which again, it is observed, are subject to the influence of the intellect, so that 'the intellect is the only bias or constraint which the will knows;' and yet the will has the power 'of resisting the most cogent motives.' The doctrine of the interaction of the will and the other mental powers, throws but little light upon the great difficulty which Sir William Hamilton has so convincingly shown to be inherent in the question of the freedom of the will-viz., how can there be a limited, and yet selfdetermining cause? and yet, on the other hand, if man is not free, how are we to account for the consciousness of freedom? That the other faculties do more than 'quicken and rouse,'—that they are in a certain sense 'a bias and constraint,'-while not necessarily destroying the freedom of the will, all must admit with Mr. Riddle; though we should have expected a plainer admission of the difficulties involved in the question. The integrity of the soul, human virtue, the moral goodness of the complex being man consists, we are told, 'in the full harmony of all the powers existing in their several relations.' This is the view which Aristotle so beautifully develops in the 'Nicomachean Ethics,' where he describes happiness, the perfect good of man, as Dr. Hampden has aptly paraphrased his definition, as 'an energy of the soul, or the powers of the soul exerted, according to that virtue or excellence which mostly consummates or perfects them.' Conscience, the law within the heart, is very justly distinguished by Mr. Riddle from 'moral perception,' and said to be the foundation of moral obligation. It is regarded as a compound faculty, and the emotional element included in it is recognised where it is observed,—'there is a sentiment within the heart together with a law.'

The following is a finished and beautiful description of the harmony of the soul in its state of integrity:—

'The soul—the intelligent will, self-conscious, and responsible in the sight of God, enjoys unspeakable delight, while it perceives in its own rectitude a conformity to the pure and holy will of the Most High. And it is thus that the moral and spiritual harmony is complete; it is thus that the radiance of clear sunshine is cast over all these beauties of order and proportion which exist in a well-regulated mind, in a pure and upright heart. Wonderful, even in itself, is the harmony that is evolved from this most curious and finished piece of spiritual mechanism; and when the soul, through its most refined and spiritual faculty, the conscience, hears God himself pronouncing that it is "very good," when the stamp of Heaven's approbation has been placed upon all its apprehensions and conclusions concerning the true, the beautiful, and the good, upon its every emotion and affection, upon every determination and aspect of its will, every wish, every desire, and volition, and upon the whole course of its activity from first to last; then indeed do all these powers of the soul, like the morning stars, sing together, and shout for joy.'-pp. 31, 32.

Mr. Riddle describes the corruption of our nature as originating in the aversion of the will from God. This produces an uneasy and restless conscience, and destroys the harmony of the soul. It inflicts wretchedness, which often gives rise to fresh sin, and drives us to despair. The will becomes depraved under the influence of corrupt desires and appetites, and the bondage of a fleshly nature is the natural result of our alienation from God. The intellect is impaired, the knowledge of God is obscured and clouded, conscience becomes a delusion and a torment.

The Second Lecture has for its subject, 'Renewal of the Soul by Faith in the Redeemer.' Here Mr. Riddle endeavours to unfold both the subjective and the objective operation of faith. He displays the power of the redemption of Christ in simple and forcible language—shows how it pacifies and

enlightens the conscience, informs the mind, awakes the desire for the divine favour, restoring man to the image of his Maker. He refers also to the practical power of Christian faith, its influence upon the intellectual and moral character of the individual, and upon the social and public well-being of man.

The Third Lecture briefly enumerates the more distinct and prominent forms of infidelity. These are said to be:-First. a rationalistic rejection of Christian doctrine, existing sometimes in the milder form of an arbitrary choice and selection of dogmas to be believed; sometimes, as in the more confirmed rationalist, appearing as the systematic elevation of reason above all the dictates of revelation. Secondly, spiritualism, according to which man is placed above the head of an external revelation from God, or the direct assistance of his spirit, as being able 'of himself to advance beyond the morality and the religion of the gospel.' Thirdly, naturalism, under which may be classed three distinct theories-first, that which would explain the supernatural historic element of the Scriptures-i. e., the miracles, as deceptions upon the part of those who performed them, whose knowledge and skill were greater than those of the spectators; secondly, the system which explains away the supernatural element by referring to natural phenomena or remarkable contingencies; thirdly, the theories of Strauss and Woolston. A fourth form of infidelity is Deism. Pantheism—of which there are two kinds, 'that which makes the universe God,' and 'that which makes God the universe.' The last form mentioned is Atheism, properly so called, which is often positive and dogmatic, as it is sometimes found even in the present day.

The Fourth Lecture takes up the causes, occasions, and effects of infidelity. The sources of infidelity Mr. Riddle sums

up as follows:-

'Sometimes it proceeds more or less directly from sinful self-will and the desires of a depraved heart, in union with a conscience either restless, or, more frequently, unawakened, blind, and dead: sometimes it comes from pride of intellect, seeking all knowledge in itself, spurning the limits which have been assigned to it, disdaining obscurity, where yet it is impossible that all can be clear, or demanding demonstration in cases where probability is the best and safest guide that has been vouchsafed to us; sometimes, again, it may be traced to a ceaseless or negligent understanding, misguided, misinformed, and losing itself too easily and too willingly in the labyrinth of error; and lastly, these evil propensities and dispositions are too often favoured and cherished by external conditions and circumstances, which throng around the heart and mind already prepared for delusion.'—p. 143.

The Fifth and Sixth Lectures unfold 'The Nature, Sources,

and Effects of Superstition.' Mr. Riddle defines superstition 'an unreasonable belief of that which is mistaken for truth concerning God and the invisible world, our relations to these unseen objects, and the duties which spring out of these relations.' He enters very fully into an inquiry after the causes of misbelief, and dwells at great length upon its effects on man, both individually and socially, upon his happiness in this world and the next.

The Seventh Lecture is a comparison of infidelity and superstition. Infidelity is the contradictory—superstition the contrary, of Christian faith. Infidelity opposes its existence—superstition hinders its development, its beneficial operation. He traces the resemblances and differences between them in their sources, in their nature, and in their effects, showing that they arise from similar conditions of the intellectual powers; that they hold a similar relation to the gospel, and that their tactics often agree, though the destructive effects may be sudden in the one case, gradual in the other. They produce and cherish one another, and their effects upon human character

and happiness are virtually the same.

In the Eighth and concluding Lecture, the question is considered, how are infidelity and superstition to be prevented and withstood? We confess we were disappointed with Mr. Riddle's mode of answering this question. Where we should have expected the most enlarged and comprehensive views, and thorough probing of the difficulty of the subject, we find little besides the most general and trite common places. The remedies suggested are such as we should expect to hear proposed by the most simple-minded Christian, wholly unaware of the modes of operation employed by infidelity and superstition in the present day, and as they actually exist. Mr. Riddle mentions, for example, the importance of sacred institutions, of a reverence for the written word, of the study of theology and biblical criticism. He enjoins upon all to sustain the observance of the Christian sacraments and the communion of the church. He reminds us how much is dependent upon the spiritual renewal and culture of individual souls, especially the teaching and preaching of God's word, and upon a sound and efficient education of the young; and concludes by urging upon all a diligent culture of the intellectual powers, and especially of There is, however, much in the Lecture that the spiritual life. is sound, judicious, and liberal; and we cannot do better than close our abstract of the whole by quoting the following advice, as worthy of the attention not only of the learned university to which it was addressed, but of every university in Europe.

'Stand on your guard also against the adoption of extreme, or

crude, or erroneous views concerning the relative offices and powers of reason and revelation; lest, while you oppose the false infidel principle of rejecting as untrue or uncertain everything which reason cannot comprehend, you should also be found, or supposed to be, setting yourselves against a really Christian effort to obtain a reasonable apprehension and appreciation of revealed truth; nor be ready to denounce even the attempts of the logical understanding to comprehend the accordance of divine truth with our intellectual perceptions, or to obtain a clear conviction of the fact that revelation is not contrary to reason; remembering that it is rather to be desired that the truths of revelation, so far as possible, should be, as it were, taken up by our reason, pass over into it, and mingle with it, as a new principle of inherent life, and light, and energy. . . . . And whilst you are careful to avoid weak defences, consider also that it is vain, or worse than vain, to refuse to grapple with substantial difficulties. Some things present serious difficulties to the minds of some men which occasion none at all to the minds of others; and these things ought to be seriously met. It is wholly insufficient to declaim against certain objections raised, for example, on a scientific or historical ground; and to denounce them as presumptuous, irreverent, or absurd. But these objections must be answered—by some who can master and penetrate the subject, and who have an advantage over the objector, in being able to perceive the harmony of science with scripture, and being then in a condition to expose the real unsoundness of the objections. Remember that a rash opposition to scientific conclusions upon religious grounds may even become an occasion of infidelity. To deny evidence blindly is always a dangerous thing to venture upon, for the right of denial admitted in one case may soon be applied to another. And it is clearly impossible to convince other men of the truth of what we ourselves believe, by merely denying the truth of something else which they had already adopted on sufficient grounds into the system of their belief.' —рр. 256-258.

ART. IV.—Mount Lebanon: a Ten Years' Residence, from 1842 to 1852, describing the Manners, Customs, and Religion of its Inhabitants, with a Full and Correct Account of the Druse Religion, and containing Historical Records of the Mountain Tribes, from personal intercourse with their Chiefs and other Authentic Sources. By Colonel Churchill, Staff-Officer of the British Expedition to Syria. In 3 volumes. 8vo. London: Saunders and Otley. 1853.

THERE is very little of personal narrative in these volumes, and this fact, together with the sameness of their details, and the constant recurrence of Eastern names, will go far to prevent their popularity. Many readers will tire of the work before

arriving at its close, and others who persevere to the end, will vet obtain little more than a general and vague impression. Still the work is valuable, and, in the present state of Eastern affairs, has much claim on public attention. It might have been condensed with advantage. A practised author would have comprised in narrower limits the really valuable portion of its contents, and in doing so, would have insured a larger circulation and a more definite and tangible result. As it is, however, we receive it with pleasure. Its preparation has evidently resulted from other than the common motives of authorship. Colonel Churchill has a mission which he is honestly concerned to discharge. His countrymen are without the knowledge he has acquired from long residence in a country which until lately was a 'terra incognita' to Europeans; and as he deems this knowledge essential to an enlightened appreciation of their position and a right discharge of their duties, he lays before us in these volumes the materials he has collected, partly by personal observation, and partly from the examination of authentic records. He writes like a man who has other purposes to serve than those of vanity or pecuniary gain. Of his private character we know nothing, but judging of him simply by the work before us, he commends himself to our confidence and good feeling. 'A general, and possibly,' he remarks, 'not incorrect belief is now prevalent, that a revolution of hitherto unprecedented magnitude is closely impending' over the East, and he is concerned that his countrymen should be prepared, by correct knowledge of the regions in question, for the changes which may arise. Napoleon Buonaparte regarded Acre as the key of the East, but our author esteems Mount Lebanon, 'which stands midway between the eastern and the western world,' as more emphatically so. His views are clearly shown in the following extract from his preface:-

'I call upon my countrymen, therefore, to adopt this political doctrine, and nail it to the National colours:—That when Mount Lebanon ceases to be Turkish, it must either become English, or else form part of a new independent State, which, without the incentives to territorial aggrandizement, or the means of military aggression, shall yet be able to maintain its own honour and dignity, and more especially to promote the great object for which it will be called into existence, for which indeed, by its geographical position, it will be so eminently qualified; that of creating, developing, and upholding a commercial intercourse in the East, which shall draw together and unite the hitherto divergent races of mankind in the humanizing relations of fraternity and peace.

'It is, indeed, the firm conviction that Syria must ere long attract a large share of public attention in England, which has induced me to

publish the result of my studies and personal experience, in that part of it with which circumstances have rendered me particularly familiar, and whose past history as well as present state and condition I have honestly, though perhaps rashly, aspired to elucidate.'—p. viii.

A residence of some years in Mount Lebanon entitles our author to speak with more confidence than would become a mere tourist. He has studied the native character, manners, and customs; and conformed himself to the last with a pliancy and zeal not common amongst his countrymen. 'Their language,' he says, 'once acquired, I soon mixed amongst them on the footing of easy and social intercourse. I endeavoured to gain the confidence and esteem of all classes.' Such a writer is evidently entitled to most respectful consideration. statements are not to be dismissed as the hasty conclusions of a traveller. The visitor of a day is in great danger of generalizing too rapidly, or of mistaking the character and significance of much which he sees. Colonel Churchill's protracted residence gave him the opportunity, of which he has clearly availed himself, to revise his judgments; while his kindly feelings towards the natives disposed him to take a favorable view of what passed before his eye. We receive, therefore, his report with thankfulness, and are glad to be introduced by so well-informed and trustworthy a witness to a people whose habits are peculiar and of whom we have hitherto known little. 'To those who wish to become acquainted with the general features and characteristics of the people of Mount Lebanon on the one hand, and the principles, policy, and conduet of the various Eastern despotisms with which they have been brought in contact, on the other,' the colonel's volumes will be highly welcome. We have read them with interest, and proceed to lay before our readers some specimens of their contents. The popular notion of Mount Lebanon is far from correct, as may be seen from the following statement of our author:-

'Mount Lebanon, or the White Mountain, is strictly speaking, as has been already observed, that part of the great range extending from Egypt to the Taurus, which embraces the district of Bisherry. Modern political divisions have, however, extended this appellation to a wider tract of country.

a wider tract of country.

'In the north, this tract is bounded by Djebel-Turbul, above Tripoli; to the south, by Djebel-Reehan, above Sidon; the Mediterranean limits it on the west; and the valley of the Bekaa, or Cœlo-Syria, on the east. It is about one hundred miles in length, and from twenty-five to thirty miles in breadth. Its population, by the latest census, may be computed in round numbers at four hundred thousand.

By the Mohammedans it is revered as one of the five holy moun-

tains. From its quarries, stones were taken to build the Haram at Mecca. The Christians glory in it as the land of the prophets and saints, and the scene of the Saviour's labours, suffering, and triumph. Under the Turkish government, it has lately been divided into twenty-one districts.'—Vol. i. pp. 54, 55.

This extensive district has always been the 'rampart and fortress of religious liberty in the East.' It is included in the dominions of the Turkish Sultan, and belongs to one of the Syrian pashaliks; yet its habits, traditions, and form of government are peculiar, and in many respects it enjoys an independency which does not belong to other sections of the Sultan's territory. Though the simplicity of evangelical truth has been lost by such of its inhabitants as profess the Christian faith, 'the Lebanon was ever a sure and ready resort for the fugitives of that denomination who fled from before the great Mahomedan invasion, and at a later period, for those sectarians who were exposed to the fury and persecution of the dominant faith and doctrine of Constantinople.' Amidst its rocky precipices an asylum has been found from the thousand oppressions which the cupidity and despotism of Turkish authorities have practised. The mulberry, the vine, and tobacco are the chief productions of the district; while in the lower and middle regions large groves of olive-trees are found, and in the more sheltered valleys, where water abounds, there are lemons, oranges, sugar-canes, coffee, and every variety of European orchard fruit. The *spring* of the year is especially lovely to the admirer of nature.

'Breathing the most balmy and genial atmosphere, he may rove these mountains the live-long day, amidst a perpetual succession of all those flowers which form the ornament and delight of European gardens. Tulips, lupins, anemones, sweet peas, mignonette, hyacinths, jonquils, and numerous medicinal herbs, growing wild in every direction, and filling the air with their fragrant exhalations. Indeed, it is more than probable that the West is indebted to the Lebanon for many of its horticultural treasures; indigenous to her, but carefully purloined and transmitted to Europe, in those occasional periods of peace and refinement, which not even the frantic passions of the Crusaders could entirely exclude from the course of human life, and which recalled the thoughts of the warrior and the pilgrim to the land of his birth and the hearth of his affections.'—Ib. pp. 27, 28.

In the most elevated of the inhabited parts of the Lebanon, the thermometer rarely falls, during winter, to 30 deg. Fahr., while in the heats of summer, it generally stands at from 65 to 75 deg. Fahr. The winter of the lower and middle ranges resembles our English spring. The harvest commences in July, and is over by the end of August. The hot

weather lasts from the end of May to that of October, and the general salubrity of the climate is such that malignant diseases are unknown. 'The cholera morbus has more than once raged around it, carrying off thousands from Damascus, and depopulating, more or less, the towns on the sea-coast; but it has never been able to obtain a footing in the Lebanon, which has hitherto remained entirely free from this dreadful scourge.' The condition of the working-classes is good. Paupers are unknown, save in the case of professional mendicants, of whom the following account is given:—

'There are two villages, Shenaneer and Murtaba, entirely colonized by professional mendicants. Living in their homes in comparative luxury, the men, at certain seasons in the year, assume the garb of beggars, and wander all over the country, but more particularly resorting to the towns, and solicit charity.

'A Beyrout merchant once happened to alight at Murtaba, and was looking about for a night's lodging, when he was accosted by a respectable-looking and well dressed individual, who kindly invited him to

his house.

'The general appearance of the apartments into which he was ushered, and the prompt and well-trained attendance of the domestics, gave assurance of the ease, and even affluence of their proprietor; and the traveller congratulated himself on his good fortune, in having made so

desirable an acquaintance.

'At the close of the evening, the Maronite quietly asked his guest if he had not already recognised him, a question which naturally excited feelings of surprise and curiosity, and which were not quelled, until the traveller found, upon a minute examination of features, that his worthy host was the very identical mendicant to whom he had constantly been in the habit of giving a trifling relief, and whose greasy pallet he had often filled with the crusts and leavings of his kitchen.

'The wealthy beggar, not in the least abashed, but rather glorying in his own voluntary exposure, asked his friend to step with him to an adjoining apartment, which on being opened, was found to contain

nearly one hundred bales of the finest silk.

'The Maronites excuse themselves for this singular and unwarrantable imposture on the public, on the score of religion, and declare they should not be putting the seal and confirmation to their faith, unless they in this manner followed the example of our Lord, who went about from place to place, depending for his means of existence on the voluntary contributions of the people.'—Ib. pp. 34, 35.

Similar regulations respecting matrimonial connexions are observed amongst the peasantry as prevail with their superiors. These are characteristic of the country, and are in many respects opposed to the sentiments and habits of the west.

'No young man,' says Colonel Churchill, 'can marry out of the

immediate range of his relations, so long as there are any single girls in the family; and a deviation from this rule is so fiercely resented, that it is scarcely ever heard of. On the other hand, should a young girl dare to fix her affections on any young man not her cousin, the whole of her male relations rise up in arms, and after having made for her what they consider a fit and appropriate choice from amongst themselves, if argument and persuasion fail in bringing her to a sense of her impropriety, bring her to the altar by force. Such an occur-

rence to be sure is rare, but the exception proves the rule.

'The consequence of this custom is, that there are families of one name in the Lebanon so numerous as to amount to clans, and who boast of 100 to 150, and even 200 men bearing arms, which is a source of immense pride and gratification, and confers influence and importance. A few days before the marriage takes place, the peasant takes a propitiatory present of fowls, coffee, or sugar, to his landlord or feudal chief, and asks permission to perform the ceremony. A week is spent in rejoicings at his own home by the bridegroom, who all this time wears a pelisse of honour sent him by his landlord; by the bride, in preparations for her nuptials. On the day fixed, usually on a Sunday, the bridegroom's relations come for the bride, when all her connexions make presents, varying from one to five shillings each, which are collected in a purse and given to the bride before she leaves the paternal roof. She takes her farewell by kissing the hands of all the male members of her family in succession.

'The procession is now formed, and moves on at the slowest pace possible; the bride walking or riding, according to circumstances, closely veiled. A halt is made every five minutes, when the party sing songs accompanied by music, while some perform the sword dance. An hour is sometimes taken up in traversing a hundred yards. This uncommonly tedious rate of advancing is intended to indicate, that the bride is in no extraordinary haste to reach her future husband, and is a part of that characteristic reserve and modesty, whether real or fictitious, which distinguishes the sex on all such occasions in the

East

'If the party has to go through a village on their route, the bride keeps her hand to her head, which is bashfully held down all the time occupied in passing through; thus respectfully saluting the inhabitants, who, on their parts, sprinkle her with corn and raisins. On reaching her future home, the bride flings a pomegranate amongst the party, which is greedily snapped up and partitioned by the young men, and is supposed to give the marriage infection. As she crosses the threshold, she takes out of her bosom a piece of yeast, which she has brought from her father's house, and sticks it firmly on the door-post; signifying thereby her resolution to cleave closely to her husband; the latter, at the same moment, standing on the roof, exactly above the door, with a drawn sword over her head, emblematical of the absolute sway which he is to hold over her throughout life.'—Ib. pp. 44-47.

The inhabitants of Syria are divided, in popular apprehension, into two classes,—the Mahometan and the Christian.

We lose sight of minuter divisions in this general classification. and yet a slight knowledge of the facts of the case suffice to convince us that innumerable sects are ranged under each. between the members of which a fierce rivalry exists. Mahometan population of the Lebanon are termed Druses. while the Christians are Maronites. Each of these has striking peculiarities, and the chief value of the present work is drawn from the light it throws on their respective opinions and practices. The Druses are outwardly Mahometans, but their allegiance to the faith of Mecca is little more than nominal, and is obviously assumed for the purpose of escaping the intolerance of their Turkish rulers. Their name is derived, by a singular fatality, from that of Darazi, an innovator on the code of Mahomet, whose name and memory they nevertheless hold in abhorrence. They are Unitarians in faith, and in Syria, including the mountains of the Lebanon and adjacent parts, they number about 60,000. The persecutions to which they have been subjected have induced a cautious concealment of their sentiments, so that much difficulty is experienced in ascertaining what they really believe and practice. Referring to the mystery in which their religious opinions are shrouded, Colonel Churchill tells us, 'In vain I tried to make the terms of extreme friendship and intimacy which existed between myself and the Druses, available for the purpose of informing myself on these points. Sheiks, Ockals, peasants, alike baffled my inquiries, either by jocose evasions or by direct negatives.' Notwithstanding this reserve, however, the main doctrines of the Druse religion are familiar to the learned, who have gleaned them from copies of their sacred books surreptitiously brought to Europe. Availing himself of the information thus obtained, and of the occasional glimpses which long residence could not fail to supply, our author has succeeded in laying before the English public the fullest, most intelligible, and most truthful account we have yet received. Hakem-Biamar Allah, a Caliph of the Fatimite dynasty, Hamzé, a Persian, and Darazi, a Turk, appear to have been jointly concerned in the origination and early propagation of this form of religious faith. Our author's account, though somewhat too extended for our limits, will best exhibit the rise of this heresy. He says—

'It is well known, that the Mohammedan world did not long preserve that singleness of purpose and consistency of doctrine which characterized its first appearance on the great stage of affairs. The path of fame which Mohammed had trod, was soon crowded with competitors grasping at the wreaths of immortality, by similar attempts on the pliability of the human mind. In the words of the poet, he was one of "the madmen who have made men mad by their conta-

gion;" and many and various were the founders of sects and systems which sprung up under his influence and example.

'But of all these inspirations of fraud and superstition, it is questionable whether any exceeded, either in mysticism of conception, or in regularity of design, the system of religion which was palmed upon the public in Cairo, during the concluding period of the Fatimite dynasty. Assuredly none has survived so long, or had such zealous and persevering adherents.

'The acts of Mansour-Abou-Ali Hakem-Biamar Allah, or "he who governs by the commandment of God," sixth prince of that line, and the third of those who reigned in Egypt, have been fully registered in the pages of history; nor is it necessary to make further allusion to him at present, than to state, that at the close of his reign, about the year A.D. 1020, after folly, cruelty, and caprice, had nearly exhausted their means of degrading and afflicting the human race within his dominions, his insane pride led him to believe, or induced him to allow others to be led into the belief, that he was a personation of the Deity, or to use the expression of the sect, that the Divinity used his person as 'a veil,' to conceal its effulgence while on earth. There were not wanting parasites in his court who flattered him in this idea, and who

even urged him to make it a doctrine of faith amongst the people.

'But there was one, a Persian, of the name of Hamzé, son of Ali, son of Achmet, belonging to the sect of Batenians, who seized this passport to fame and fortune, with a tenacity of purpose and a degree of enthusiasm, that might induce the conclusion, that he himself was fully confirmed of the truth of the pretensions thus set forth. It is certain that he was loaded with honours and emoluments, and that he was unceasingly active in procuring partizans, to his real or assumed belief in the Divinity of Hakem.

'Amongst the more zealous of his adherents, was a certain Neshte-keen Darazi, another of the sect of Batenians, by birth a Turk. With more overt ambition and less discretion than his master, he publicly proclaimed his adhesion in the grand mosque of Cairo. The people rushed upon him, and would have massacred him on the spot, had he not sought safety in flight. Hakem hesitated to take openly his part, before such an unequivocal burst of public feeling, and facilitated his departure out of the country; giving him at the same time a large supply of money, and instructions to proceed into the mountains of Syria, and spread the new doctrines which he had espoused. Darazi departed accordingly, and arrived in the Wady Tame above the sources of the Jordan, near Hasbeya, A.D. 1020. There he found hearers amongst the Araba and seen made converts.

amongst the Arabs, and soon made converts.

'A footing thus gained, correspondence was opened with Egypt, and Hamzé hastened to avail himself of the favourable opening, that had thus presented itself for the promotion of his views. It will be seen in another place how assiduously and how successfully his plans were carried on. Whether at this period, the Tnoohs had footing in those parts is not clear: it is not improbable. Early in the following century, it is certain they were at times the governors of Hasbeya. At all

events, the work of conversion went rapidly on. Ten years did not elapse, before the Arab tribes who inhabited the Lebanon, had mostly adopted the outward profession, while a class set apart had been initiated into the mysteries, of the doctrines of Hamzé. He had not, however, the honour of giving his name to the new religion. The disciples of Darazi, the first teacher, by a natural and easy etymology, obtained the distinguishing epithet of Druses, and the appellation extended to the whole sect.—Ib. i. p. 230-234.

The religious era of the Druses dates from 1020 of the Christian era, and the following is given—we believe correctly—as a summary of their creed:—

'To acknowledge one only God, without endeavouring to penetrate the nature of His being and attributes (indeed the Druses are so far from admitting attributes in God, that His Intelligence, His Will, His Justice, His Word, are, in their system, created beings, and ministers of God, his first productions;) to confess that He can neither be comprehended by the senses, nor described by language; to believe that the Divinity has made itself manifest to men, at different epochs, in the human form, without partaking of human weakness and frailty; that the Divinity appeared for the last time, in the fifth century of the Hegira of Mohammed, under the figure of Hakem-biamar Allah, and that, after that, no other manifestation is to be expected; that Hakem disappeared in the year 411 of the Hegira, or 1021 A.D., to prove the faith of his servants, and to give occasion for the falling off of apostates, who had only embraced the true religion from worldly motives; that he will re-appear in due time in glory and majesty, to triumph over all his enemies, to extend his empire over the whole earth, and to give the kingdom to his faithful worshippers.

'To believe that the "Universal Intelligence" is the first of God's creations,—the only direct and immediate production of his Almighty power; that he has appeared on earth simultaneously with each manifestation of the Divinity; and that, lastly, in the time of Hakem, he took the figure of Hamzé, the son of Ali, the son of Ahmed; that it is by his ministry and agency that all things have been produced; that he alone possesses the knowledge of all truths; that he is the first Minister of the true religion; that it is he who communicates, directly or indirectly, to other ministers, and to simple believers, but in different degrees and proportions, the knowledge and the grace which he receives immediately from the Divinity, and of which he is the sole medium; that he alone has direct access to the Deity, standing as Mediator between the Supreme Being and the great family of mankind.

'To acknowledge that Hamzé it is to whom Hakem will intrust his sword, in the last day, to smite all his adversaries, to make his religion triumphant, to distribute rewards and punishments to every one according to his deserts; to know the other ministers of the Unitarian religion, and the rank and offices which belong to each of them individually, and to render them that obedience and submission which is due.

'To confess that all souls were created by the "Universal Intelli-

gence;" that the number of human beings is always the same, -neither increasing nor decreasing; but that souls pass from one body to another; that they rise, and become perfected in excellence, or deteriorate, and become lost and degraded, according to their love and attachment to the truth, or their neglect and disregard of it; to practise the seven commandments which the religion of Hamzé imposes on his followers, and more especially those which inculcate a strict regard to truth in words, charity towards the brethren, entire renunciation of all former modes of belief, and complete and unreserved submission to the will of God.

'And, finally, to confess that all preceding religions whatever were but types, more or less complete, of the only true religion,-all their legal and ceremonial precepts and injunctions, but allegories; and that the revelation of the true religion necessarily induces the complete abolition of all anterior ones. Such is an abridgment of the principal points of belief laid down in the religion of the Druses, of which Hamzé is the founder, and the followers of which are called Unitarians.'-Vol. ii. pp. 1-4.

At first an eager spirit of proselytism pervaded the sect; but this was speedily suppressed in order to preserve the unity of The Druse religion became a sacred inheritance, and a special order, termed the Ockals, was appointed to guard To this order alone the mysteries of the system are unveiled, and they exercise over their votaries much the same power as the Catholic priest does over his disciples—

'Exemplary moral conduct,' says our author, 'and undeviating adherence to the rigid principles of self-denial which are imposed upon his order, are the Ockal's only passports to superior regard and consi-With such elements of control and organization continually exerting their influence over their whole body, it is not surprising that the social and political condition of the Druses should present a compactness and unity, which make them both important and formidable.

'Some devote themselves to celibacy, in order the more effectually to free themselves from cares and passions which might interfere with the practice of their self-imposed duties, without, however, withdrawing themselves from social intercourse; others, who aspire to a more complete and perfect exercise of that abstraction of thought and feeling, that entire and absorbing appreciation of the Divine Unity and of the transcendant excellence of his favoured Minister, which is the peculiar privilege and the highest aim of a zealous and enthusiastic Unitarian, retire to the Holowés, or places set apart for worship, and pass their entire lives in contemplative devotion. A coarse straw mat their bed, a stone their pillow, a coarse woollen garb bound round the waist by a girdle of leather their attire, and a morsel of dry bread twice a-day their only sustenance.

'All classes of the Druses invariably kiss the hand of such of the Ockals as distinguish themselves by a superior degree of moral and religious conduct-a mark of respect which they accept with the

greatest diffidence and unwillingness, invariably returning the salute, even to the hand of the lowest peasant; displaying in this trivial circumstance, a spirit of humility strongly contrasting with the haughty demeanour of the Christian priest, who, insolently pretending to exercise a spiritual dominion over his followers, receives a similar homage with a pride and self-complacency, which clearly betoken that he looks upon such an act of subserviency as a right, and a mark of

his superiority.'-Vol. ii. pp. 253, 254.

Matters of a lighter and more attractive order are intermingled with these grave themes, and our readers will not be displeased at our introducing them to one of these. The Druse sheiks have always possessed a superior breed of horses. Derived from the Desert stock, they have more bone than the pure Arab, and are broad and well formed in the hoof and fetlock. During the autumn and winter they are trained in the exercises of the Medan, where the game of the 'jereed' is frequently practised. This pastime is thoroughly national, and the scene it exhibits is both striking and picturesque. Colonel Churchill tells us—

'The Sheiks and their principal attendants who are to take a part. may be seen trying the paces of their animals backwards and forwards, and getting them into good breath, much in the manner of English jockeys on a race-course. After a quarter of an hour thus spent, the riders divide themselves into two parties, which stand opposed to each other at either extremity of the Meedan, generally eight or twelve, at the most, on each side. Each equestrian is armed with a stout stick about an inch in diameter and a yard and a half long, blunt, and rounded at both extremities; this is the jereed. The animals paw the ground, and display the greatest impatience to begin the sport, for their blood is up. A horseman from one of the parties now advances at a sharp canter, slightly reclining back in the saddle, the right arm extended downwards to a little below the level of the waist, with the jereed well balanced in the hand, which grasps it by the middle, the clasped fingers being uppermost. After traversing two-thirds of the Meedan, he suddenly turns his horse to the left, without sensibly checking him, and delivers his jereed with full force amongst the horsemen opposed to him while in the act of wheeling round. To a casual observer the entire effect of this evolution is not apparent; but the jereed, in fact, obtains impulsion not only from the muscular strength of the rider's arm, but from the impetus of the animal in the sweeping course which it is made to perform, and parts like a stone from a sling. The art of flinging the jereed consists in hurling it at this particular instant. The moment the horseman has delivered his jereed, he puts his horse into full gallop to return to his own side, pursued by one of the opposing party, who darts out after him, and, choosing his time and distance, hurls his jereed at his back. The former either avoids the blow by stooping down in his saddle, or, if expert enough, parries and sometimes catches his adversary's weapon in his

left hand. In this manner the whole who take part in the Meedan are successively engaged, until the melée becomes general, constant, and exciting. Footmen are present, who pick up and supply the riders with the jereeds. Severe and indeed injurious blows are sometimes exchanged. The Druse sheiks will often get so ruffled in temper as to throw away the jereed, draw swords, and begin to fight with each other in downright earnest; and it is only the prompt interposition of the bystanders which on such occasions prevents bloodshed. A Meedan lasts from two to three hours, at the expiration of which time, both riders and horses are ready to drop from fatigue and perspiration.'— Ib. pp. 279-282.

The pride of rank determines the circle within which marriages are contracted. This is generally the case with us, though the rule does not hold so absolutely as amongst the higher classes in the Lebanon. 'The daughter of an Emir or Sheik will live all her life unmarried, rather than give her hand out of the ranks of the nobility.' The father regulates the marriage of his daughters, and the case very rarely occurs of any objection being taken to the connexion which he approves. The Druse ladies are much better informed than is usual with their sex throughout the East, yet the seclusion of their harem is complete, and when they appear in public 'they draw their veils closely over their faces, allowing merely their left eye' to A plurality of wives, though permitted by the Koran, is discountenanced amongst the Druses; and if once divorced, a woman cannot be restored to her husband. The facility of divorce is great, and the form of it very simple. 'A Druse, when he wishes to divorce his wife, has merely to say: "You had better go back to your father;" or, should the woman wish to leave her husband, she says: "I wish to go back to my father;" and if her husband says: "Very well, go," the divorce in either case holds good, and the separation is irrevocable. Both parties are free to re-marry.'

As the Mahometan population of the Lebanon constitute a distinct sect, differing in many of their views and practices from the faith of Mecca, so the Christians are equally distinguished from the general body of their co-religionists. Their name is derived from a monk, Maroun; but whether from one which lived at the end of the fourth century, or from a zealous supporter of the Monothelite heresy in the seventh century is matter of dispute. The Maronites themselves maintain the former opinion, but the learned of Europe abet the latter, and the weight of evidence is on their side. The communication of the Maronites with the papal see was frequent in the early part of the twelfth century, but their complete adhesion to the Roman church was not effected till 1167. Even

then they refused to admit its supremacy in matters of ecclesiastical discipline. This was not accomplished till the fifteenth century. 'That spirit of independence which they had displayed when existing as a separate sect, they carried into their communications with the Sovereign Pontiffs; and, for three centuries, there existed a Christian church in the Lebanon, popish in all its forms and doctrines, saving the cardinal point of submission to the pope.' The Patriarch of the Maronites is styled the Patriarch of Antioch, and usually takes the name of Peter—

'His power is despotic, and from his decision there is no appeal. either in temporal or spiritual affairs; even the pope's legate, who resides constantly in the Lebanon, and is supposed to superintend all the ecclesiastical proceedings of the Maronite church, has no influence over the patriarch, beyond what may be obtained by personal superiority of character. Within the last few years, indeed, the legate has in various ways advanced pretensions on the part of the pope, to more direct and absolute interference in ministerial appointments amongst the Maronite clergy, especially those connected with the convents; but they have been hitherto met with a spirit of independence and determination, which clearly evinces that the "fidèles" of the Lebanon, are not quite yet prepared to merge into the degrading position of mere satellites of Rome. The income of the patriarch may amount to about £5000 a-year, derived principally from lands set apart exclusively for the office. He obtains likewise a sixth of the revenue of the bishops.

'The power of an ecclesiastical dignitary, who is looked up to by the members of his church almost as a temporal prince, may well be supposed to be of considerable weight, and to influence, in no small degree, their general proceedings; and in this respect the present patriarch, Yousuf il Haazin, presents a most favourable contrast to his predecessor, who sprang from the house of Habashe.'—Vol. iii. pp.

79, 80.

The habits of the priesthood are much the same as those of Europe. We need not go far to parallel them. The only difference arises from the grosser ignorance of the people. Prostituting their spiritual functions to secular purposes, they wield a mighty spell, which in many cases proves unfriendly to the happiness and religious development of the country. 'Constantly prowling about from house to house, not an incident, however trivial, escapes his vigilance, while the constant and ever-recurring instrumentality of the confessional, satisfies the utmost cravings of a curiosity that is only appetized by indulgence. No Maronite peasant dares to marry without getting the consent of the priest.' Marriage is no bar to the priesthood amongst the Maronites, though it cannot be contracted after 'holy orders' are taken. In this respect the Christian sects of

the East are distinguished from the Church of Rome. A married

bishop, however, is unknown.

The conventual system exists in full force. Upwards of a hundred monasteries and nearly ten thousand monks are scattered throughout the Lebanon. In this respect the ancient character of the East is faithfully maintained, save that the monks of the present day have discarded the poverty and solitude which distinguished the earlier types of their class. They occupy the best sites in the Lebanon; their dwellings are surrounded by luxuriant and well-cultivated grounds; and large estates, once belonging to the emirs and sheiks, have been converted into their patrimony.

'The greater part of the estates of the Maronite emirs and sheiks has gradually passed into their hands; these chiefs having been induced to exchange the worthless tenure of earthly possessions for that of heavenly habitations, which they firmly believe are secured to them by the powerful and unfailing efficacy of the prayers and masses poured forth on their behalf by their monastic confessors. The house of Haazin has been more especially plucked under these saintly pretences, and many of their sheiks, now thriving on the precarious produce of a few acres of ground, may glory or repine, according to the growth or decline of their spiritual attainments, over the devotion or folly of their ancestors. —Ib. p. 89.

Colonel Churchill has amassed considerable information respecting the political changes to which the country has been subjected; and those who are interested in the discussion now pending respecting the East will do well to consult his pages. We must, however, content ourselves with referring to these details, and take our leave of the author with cordial thanks, and a warm commendation of his volumes to our readers.

We should have been glad to quote from them, and had marked some passages for extract. They throw much light on the history of the people, and, in the case of a few chieftains, have awakened the desire of still further knowledge. The little we are told suggests an outline we should be glad to have

filled up.

- ART. V.—Proceedings of the Society for the Reform of Colonial Government. London: Sandford. 8vo. 1851.
- The Colonial Policy of Lord John Russell's Administration. By Earl Grey. London: Bentley. 2 vols. 8vo. 1853.
- 3. Despatches of His Grace the Duke of Newcastle respecting Free Constitutions for the Cape of Good Hope, for the Australias, and for New Zealand. 1853.
- Charles Delmer: a Tale of the Times. 2nd edition. 2 vols. 8vo. London: Bentley. 1853.
- Tracts of the Indian Reform Society. Nos. 1 to 9. Svo. London: Sandford. 1853.
- Introduction to the Cosmos Institution. Signed by Lord Stanley, President, in the name of the Council. 4to. London. 1853.

By a vigorous struggle, the colonial reformers at home, aided by the colonists, in a spirit approaching to universal rebellion, have struck a first effectual blow on the mischievous system established for many years in the Colonial Office in Downingstreet. So firmly was the power of this office fixed, that except in very special cases, parliament habitually abandoned to it all colonial questions whatever; while the public took the least possible interest in colonial subjects, even when the gravity of such special cases, or personal influences forced on debates, or compelled ministers to refer them to parliamentary committees, speedily destined to be trifled with or hood-winked. The working of that office was become so fatal, that often its sluggishness paralyzed our national colonial energy in many quarters; often its misrule rendered the colonies as burthensome as discontented; and after it had embarrassed individual colonial enterprise, by resisting the extension of our frontiers, it had begun very seriously to narrow these frontiers. Fifteen years ago the Colonial Office issued instruments that would have given New Zealand to France, but for the energy of private individuals; and when other energetic and far-seeing men planned the legitimate acquisition of Oregon and California for England, the same office actually gave both to the United States. In another region, South Africa, abounding in natural resources of every kind, in pastoral and agricultural capabilities, in boundless riches in coal, iron, copper, and gold, and still more important as the healthy spring of civilization for millions of Africans eager to share civilized advantages, the Colonial Office has done much worse during the last seventeen years. In addition

to two Caffre wars, brought on by the neglect of reforms, that produced nine years of uninterrupted peace, and to a scheme of convict colonization that roused angry and successful opposition at the Cape, the Colonial Office has really itself established an independent British republic in the interior; and has meditated the abandonment of a fertile region—the Sovereignty—which will make the republic formidable when arrayed against us. Its impolicy drove the Canadas into rebellion; the finest West India Islands into needless difficulties during the transition from slavery to negro freedom; and in the midst of the marvellous Australian riches, it has thrown away the rights of the crown in them without satisfying anybody. An impeachment of the crowd of colonial secretaries concerned in these and other perversities, would contain a full catalogue of administrative misdemeanours.

The abandonment of this bad system has been obtained by free discussion and parliamentary pressure, as adverse to the public interests, and as opposed to the genius of the nation. This reform in colonial government has had several shapes; and it has been exposed to some fluctuations and checks, calling on its advocates for the exercise of caution, and of great perseverance. But it has, notwithstanding, already greatly improved our colonial prospects. The change is the more important, as it extends to Indian affairs now under investigation, in lights which bring them more and more into connexion with improved colonial government. The recent petitions of numerous natives of India to parliament have attracted much notice. They are not unprecedented; but they are assuming a character too weighty to be neglected, as similar appeals were disregarded in times past.

This general colonial reform, when complete, will involve constitutional, commercial, and philanthropic topics, along with administrative improvements; and although its decisive advancement is recent, the steps to that advance have been long preparing. They deserve to be critically traced, and carefully borne in mind, not only for their intrinsic importance, but also for their accordance with general progress. The retrospect is the more indispensable, as the points of reform actually gained are mainly limited to colonial constitutions, to the profitable disposal of colonial lands, to the check of convict colonization, and to free-trade, so vital to colonial interests. Not a step is yet taken towards the correction of abuses in the home administration of colonial affairs, and a beginning only is made in the home administration of the affairs of India. The Colonial Office being still simply despotic, is therefore habitually unjust in its judgments upon persons; and being utterly unprovided with proper means of intelligence, it is therefore incapable of originating good measures itself, or of appreciating them when originated by others. Parliament at present, as Lord Shelburne said of it eighty years ago, servilely follows ministers in colonial affairs, as in those affairs ministers servilely follow the bidding of their under secretaries, and even the suggestions of their clerks. The Duke of Newcastle, indeed, obtains the willing support of parliament to his colonial reform. But so did Earl Grey to his colonial blunders. These reforms will be miserably incomplete until the proper steps are taken to make ministers and parliament dispose of colonial business with more independence, more knowledge, more ability, and more justice. Without such steps, it is certain that new conflicts with the several colonies will end in our mortification and defeat.

The story of our colonial career is not merely that of our experience beyond sea, or of recent date. On the contrary, its roots have been growing up for eighteen centuries. Our old chronicles and the rolls of parliament furnish materials for as good a code of colonial government as the blue-books and the debates of the last hundred years. It lies deep in the records of our territorial aggrandisement throughout all the British Islands, from England to Wales and Ireland, as well as in those of our acquisitions in America, in Africa, in Asia, and the South Seas. In all time two opposed principles have prevailed with unequal effects as our power has spread. The possessions of our people on the one side have been steadily expansive; the power of the government has, on the other side, too often checked, when it should only have guided our popular energies. Under the Tudors and Stuarts, and late into the last century, those energies were as often suppressed as encouraged in regard to colonial adventure. In spite of Spanish pretensions, Sebastian Cabot would have given a great American state to England, if Henry VIII. had understood him, or if Edward VI. Raleigh, so well appreciated by Elizabeth, and had lived. by her colonial minister Walsingham, would have executed the designs of Cabot, however slighted by fortune, if James I. had not put him to death,—and even then, Fairfax would have realized the bright colonial visions of Raleigh, if his lessons had been addressed to a capable king. Cromwell, obedient to John Milton's inspirations, promoted all colonial enterprizes. Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, laboured hard to give a like direction to the policy of the Restoration, and Lord Somers and Lord Halifax, at long intervals afterwards, were distinguished colonial statesmen, but to little purpose. Generally, ministers were deaf to all arguments, and parliaments indifferent to all efforts in favour of adventure beyond sea. At the beginning of the last century, a London merchant, Paterson of Dumfriesshire, a great colonizing genius, who had roused all Scotland to attempt to settle Central America, and open a direct way to the Pacific, appealed in vain to the British public to emulate what Lord Bacon had long before called the heroic work of colonization.

Among the various causes which led to the American war of 1776, none were more irritating than the refusal of the home government to sanction a judicious and just extension of the colonists as to the interior. It insisted upon our settlements being kept to the sea-board; although the native Indians asked earnestly for the regular colonization of the thirty thousand squatters, whose resources enriched, but unguided advance ruined them.

After the revolt of the thirteen American colonies against metropolitan assumptions of power had proved too strong to be put down, and after the failure of the impeachment of Warren Hastings-the great act of justice that in the east would have morally compensated our disgraces in the westthere followed a dreary silence on all colonial and Indian subjects. The Canadian debates of 1791, in the House of Commons, so important in the severance of the old friendship of Fox and Burke, and for the schism which those debates betrayed in the popular party, drew small attention to colonial politics. Afterwards, the threatened impeachment of the Marquis Wellesley, on his return from India, passed so little observed that the subject is scarcely mentioned in the annals of the day; and Mr. Horner's plans of Indian reform are even less known. The wars of the French Revolution, and our prodigious colonial and Indian conquests during those wars, threw all free colonial principles into the shade, and completely interrupted our old practice of colonization. Military rule was a necessity in the newly-acquired settlements, under the absolute government of the crown. Besides this, a despotism, practically irresponsible, prevailed in the Colonial Office at home, even in regard to the old colonies, which had long had representative assemblies and free constitutions. The spread of convict settlements in Australia, after they had been deliberately condemned on principle by parliament several years before transportation was forcibly stopped by the American war, had the same corrupting tendency. In vain did Blackstone, Howard, and afterwards Bentham, protest against reviving in a new hemisphere a scourge which great judges, great philosophers, and practical colonists had equally condemned.

So far as concerned India, there was a very great falling off

from the lofty views which had prompted the impeachment on which impartial history has still to pronounce its verdict. Instead of receiving condemnation, Hastings became a honoured martyr. He was even treated by the House of Commons as a man of native excellence, with the respect due only to the most illustrious and the purest of statesmen; and to this day it requires no small self-reliance to justify a trial instituted by the most illustrious men of the time, by Fox, Pitt, and Burke, for motives worthy of

universal respect.

So far as the action of the government went, our colonies seemed to be come to a stand still, although the individual families of the colonists increased together with their flocks and herds and other possessions. But the principle of free political progress was almost extinguished, and the corrupting principle of office substituted for it. A question was once sent home by the Governor of New South Wales at this time, whether land should be granted in fee simple to any settler, and until the year 1824 no legal provision existed in that colony for levying taxes or making laws.

The colonial system of government, thus firmly established, has been mildly stigmatized by impartial men as a chapter of accidents.\* It was a far worse thing. It was no less feeble than it was unwise, being only powerful in discouraging the able and the honest, and in multiplying abuses. It afforded no means for the ordinary intelligence of affairs, and the generally good intentions of ministers were a poor safeguard against the

intrigues which it fostered.

Under these circumstances it is not to be wondered at that our colonies had become a degraded field of enterprise, and that in the first few years after the general peace the number of our colonizing emigrants to all parts of the world did not exceed 15,000 souls a year, instead of the present amount of

350,000 in a year.

The long war had perverted the natural and salutary habits of the people of all ranks. Emigration, of old the useful safety valve in times of popular discontents, and the corrective of unequal employment, of too low wages, and of general distress, had especially gone out of favour. The needy, who always had understood its advantages, were as yet unable to take any means to provide for its expenses, and the rich have at all times, with rare exceptions, resisted meeting these expenses by a public, parliamentary provision. The large cost of the Nova

<sup>\*</sup> See Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton's work on Africa; the Wellington Correspondence; Bentham's Théories des Peines et Recompenses; and Bannister on the Reform of the Colonial Office.

Scotian emigration in the last century was incurred almost as a military operation to check the French power in North America. The vote of some £100,000 to send out 5000 people to the Cape of Good Hope, in 1820, was, perhaps, owing to the sagacious efforts of the late Sir John Barrow. It was agreed to reluctantly, and the most enlightened statesmen, on that occasion, declared that whatever parliament might do, the people would certainly not come forward to emigrate to colonies. They were quite unprepared for the entries of 90,000 names of such volunteers as soon as the proposals of the South African enterprise were published. So they unwisely discouraged the efforts of individuals to combine emigration with colonial enterprise. The consequence of this was, that during several years of alarming turbulence in London and the north, Spa-fields riots and Manchester risings had not the natural relief of emigration, and the United States of America gained a population that might have had a British direction.

The late Sir Robert Wilmot Horton was the first public man who took a prominent part in promoting the change that occurred in emigration, about the year 1822, when the natural

resources of the Canadas began to be understood.

The admirable efforts of the Earl of Selkirk in North America, so early as 1808, had failed through the unscrupulous hostility of the North West Company, countenanced by ministers and neglected by parliament. The emigration to the Cape of Good Hope in 1820 had been crippled by local mismanagement, which had already laid the foundation of so many formidable Caffre wars upon the frontier to which that emigration was sent.

Sir R. W. Horton treated colonization solely as a political economist; not commercially, but in order to relieve this country from pauper pressure, and by no means in a constitutional or philanthropic point of view. He, however, had a very distinct opinion in favour of the gradual improvements of our colonial policy. He took a popular as well as a statesmanlike course on the subject, and not only entered zealously into the discussion of it as a public lecturer, but he seconded the appointment of several important commissions of colonial inquiry, which, as far as they were allowed to go, corrected the mischievous routine of the Colonial Office. these commissions, first under Mr. John Thomas Bigge alone, and then under him, Sir William Colebrook, and Mr. Blair, laid foundations for slow revolutions in the government of New South Wales and the Cape of Good Hope, ending in This comwhat is now opening before us in those colonies. mission also introduced improvements in Mauritius and Ceylon; and when Sir R. W. Horton became governor of this last colony, he pursued a course there which, if consistently persevered in, would have prevented the disasters that broke out under Lord Torrington. When Under-secretary of state, he encouraged a plan for the reform of the Indian department of Canada. That reform would have saved a hundred thousand pounds of public money, and have materially advanced Indian civilization. After it was matured under the best auspices, an under current in the Colonial Office defeated the good views of the minister, and destroyed the plan. The reforms this Canadian inquiry would have enforced in the Indian department must have greatly advanced the civilization of the aborigines. Sir R. Wilmot Horton generally stood almost alone, but in this excellent design he was ably seconded by such men as the highly accomplished, the amiable, and acute Mr. Charles Tulk, at that time a member of the House of Commons, and by Thomas Campbell, both of whom warmly advocated the cause of the Indian delegates, whose visit to England, in 1822, gave occasion to his plan.

Sir R. W. Horton's zealous efforts to promote colonization were thwarted by the influence of a powerful section of political economists, the followers of Sir Henry Parnell, the late Lord Congleton, who had little difficulty in showing that colonies, when scandalous scenes of peculation, or at least of wasteful expenditure and corrupt patronage, must be unprofitable to the nation. But a new school soon arose, who adopted the enlightened opinions of Edward Gibbon Wakefield on colonial economy. The government seized on these opinions eagerly; but spoiled their object by indiscreet applications of them. In 1834, a committee of the House of Commons, presided over by Sir Henry Ward, gave a parliamentary sanction to Mr. Wakefield's views. The late incomparable Charles Buller threw into the subject, in all its political branches, the aid of his brilliant talents. His withering sarcasms\* gave the first effectual blow to the Colonial Office. His advice, when accompanying Lord Durham to North America, originated 'self-government' in the Canadas. His premature death sadly delayed the several reforms of our colonial administration.

The spirit of colonization was now, however, fairly reviving among us. South Australia was founded on good principles,

<sup>\*</sup> Mr. Buller's sobriquet of Mother-country, applied to the Colonial Office, felicitously personified the system, and has never been forgotten. Camoens' indignant reproach, that India, as administered by Portugal in his time, was 'a nursing mother to rogues, but a stepmother to honest men,' was more severe, but not more effective. Mr. Buller's colonial speeches and pamphlets ought to be published collectively, with those words for a motto.

and with liberal parliamentary aid. Port Philip, when first boldly settled by private enterprise, was prudently adopted by ministers, who liberally indemnified the adventurers, although they had there seized on public lands without a title. The struggle between the parties who aimed at restoring the ancient British 'art of colonization' in an improved way, and the Colonial Office, which had overlaid, and almost suppressed colonization, promised the best issue. The turning point occurred in a petition of a numerous body of merchants and capitalists, headed by Mr. Gurney and the present Sir Edward Buxton. Mr. Buller, in laying that petition before parliament, was seconded by Lord Ashley, now the Earl of Shaftesbury. The New Zealand Association zealously pursued its course; but the Colonial Office resisted the movement with extraordinary obstinacy. All resistance failed of its object of stopping, however much it embarrassed, colonization, and the way was steadily prepared for the great career now opening for the spread of new British communities from Newfoundland to the North Pacific, - from the Cape of Good Hope to Central Africa, and over all the Australian and the South Seas! The names of Gurney and Buxton to the City petition connected colonial enterprize, duly directed, with the higher claims of The same union was established when the Earl of Shaftesbury seconded Mr. Buller's important motion in favour of systematic colonization.

Lord John Russell took the part of the favourers of colonization, and effectively promoted the cause of the remarkable constitution of the Land and Emigration Board, which, in the reaction that soon occurred, after 1842, became a mere office of the Colonial Office. Sir Robert Peel also threw his great influence upon the colonizing side on the occasion of the New Zealand debates of 1845. Earl Grey was then a strenuous colonial reformer, but lost his reputation upon being fairly tried in the Colonial Office. Pure philanthropy had long struggled hard against the violation of common humanity in the colonies, and really made some progress, as, for example, in the case of the Hottentots, who were saved in 1809 from absolute ruin by circuit courts being established at the Cape, in consequence of information sent home by a missionary; and in 1812, a committee of the House of Commons on transportation, said a few words on behalf of the aborigines of Australia. But even the favourite object of modern philanthropy-Negro emancipation-seemed long hopeless, and the Negro's model home, Sierra Leone, with the other West African settlements, long lay under the incubus of the system of the Colonial Office in Downing-street; the consequences of which were shameful

peculations, the suppression of freedom, the discouragement of African talent, official ignorance, and unjustifiable wars with the native tribes,—things far more adverse to African civilization than the deadliest climate. The sluggish inertness alone of that Office, in regard more especially to Sierra Leone, whilst very large sums of money were lavishly voted by parliament towards its support, amounted to positive vice. Long ago plans of liberal government and of peaceful intercourse with the tribes were in vain urged upon the government by the merchants and others from the whole of the West Coast; and the eminent success of one of those plans, which was at last adopted, is even now endangered through official imprudence, although the merit of it is complacently claimed for official hands, to the

suppression of its real projectors.

Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton, after the emancipation of the slaves, in 1833, aimed at colonial reform, but solely as a philanthropist, and in the spirit which had long before eminently distinguished Clarkson, Wilberforce, and Granville Sharp. It was the former who secured the Hottentots from imminent destruction; the latter roused parliament to save the Caribbs of the West Indies from military execution, and, if listened to, he would have planted constitutional government in Western Africa. The parliamentary inquiry into means of protecting the aborigines of the colonies from wrong, which Sir Thomas Buxton ably conducted in the three sessions of 1835, 1836, and 1837, made a deep impression. He carried parliament entirely with him, and the public, previously appealed to with effect by the late Dr. Philip, Mr. Pringle, and others, was gradually acquiring a practical interest in the subject. The early stage of this inquiry gave rise to measures which were consistent with the too-much neglected recommendations of the Commission of Eastern Inquiry under Mr. Bigge and his colleagues. remarkable act of justice, the restoration of their country to the Caffres, followed upon the parliamentary inquiry. These wise measures produced peace for nine years on the Caffre frontier, since so fearfully disturbed through the breach of them. In these nine years of profound peace on that frontier, even cattle stealing (the common sport of semi-barbarians and borderers) entirely ceased for months, and every other offence diminished under an active administration influenced by those measures, facts capable of the most rigorous proof, and never to be forgotten. These good results of wise measures must have been lasting, if the Colonial Office had given ordinary attention to the progress of events on the Caffre frontier. But the governor of the colony in vain solicited its notice of these events, which were not even communicated for many years to parliament; and that office was all that time equally deaf to the calls of the colonists, the warnings of able men,\* and to the philanthropists.

It is, indeed, in the highest degree probable, that the best results throughout our whole colonial world would have followed Sir Thomas Buxton's inquiry of 1835, 1836, and 1837, if one measure in particular, formally submitted by him to the Committee, had not been most imprudently rejected. That measure was the institution of explanatory inquiries in all the colonies by commissions from home, in order to decide upon our future policy with the most correct acquaintance with facts. This must have lessened opposition to the newly introduced, humane policy, by fairly conciliating all interests, and by hearing patiently objectors, perhaps remove opposition to that policy. Philanthropic reform was at that time closely connected with general colonial reform; and the rejection of this ingenious proposal of local inquiry concurrently with improvement actually

made broke the course of both reforms at one blow.

The peace-making measures of the Parliamentary Committee of 1835, 1836, and 1837, being at length overturned, the policy of coercion revived, and produced the two last Caffre wars. Unlimited military resources have enabled us to crush the tribes that resisted coercion, after yielding to conciliation; but we have failed to expel them, as we threatened to do, beyond the Kei. To the number of 40,000 souls, they are now settled in narrow limits at no remote distance from their favourite old haunts; and all parties doubt the stability of the peace we have bought so dear. The Caffre chiefs have petitioned the Queen for a consideration of their case, on the plea of the lands allotted them being too small. But an entirely new state of things has arisen to determine the character of our future policy in South Africa, as well as in other colonies. This is the new system of colonial government, opened some time since, and confirmed substantially in the present year by the colleagues of the Earl of Aberdeen. This is the system of self-government, or a system by which the measures of peace and war in and near the colonies are to be settled, not by the governors alone, under orders from the Colonial Office, but by the governor together with assemblies elected by the colonists. The result of a similar change in the Canadas was encouraging. It put an end to discontents which led to rebellion, and it has fostered general prosperity. Even the jealousies of race are put an end to, and the colonists of French origin are at length united in perfect harmony under the influence of perfect political equality,

<sup>\*</sup> See the remarkable work of Colonel Sutherland on the Caffre Frontier, published in 1845, the year before the last Caffre war but one.

and a very large share of political independence. But the extension of our North American colonies beyond the Canadas to the Pacific, and the conversion of the fur countries to the north and west into flourishing colonies, as is their destiny, and was anticipated by the last charter to the Fur Company, has no parliamentary constitution provided at all adequate to

this grand object.

In the Australias, the introduction of self-government has been so imprudently delayed, the difficulties attendant on the number of convicts still there are so great, and the riches of the gold regions have come so suddenly, so much has been ignorantly yielded to the colonists, and so much improperly refused to them, that it is extremely doubtful whether a proper share in the local administration can be kept by the mother country. The only hope for this lies in the immediate adoption of two bold measures of no real difficulty, but for which few seem to be prepared—namely, first, to secure a correct and timely account of events and opinions in the colonies; secondly, to have members from the colonies in the House of Commons. Both points are vital to the colonies and to India, but, above all, to the Australias.

The adoption of the principle of self-government in South Africa is likely to produce immediate consequences of the greatest interest. The Duke of Newcastle, himself one of the colonial reformers, in March last, sent despatches to the Cape, announcing the grant of the constitution upon the most liberal terms the colonists had contended for, including a provision which admits the coloured population to the elective franchise, at a low qualification,\* so as to encourage habits of industry, and by the enjoyment of political rights to secure its fruits to them. This decision is to do more than establish a representative assembly in the Cape colony. It reduces largely the regular army to be stationed there, and requires the colonists to provide a numerous militia to defend themselves. They are also to hold military possession of the Caffre frontiers, and to take an active part with the governor of the colony in settling relations with the native tribes. The home government do not abandon its duties, but the colonists are to share them. Heretofore they only partook of the disasters attendant on the errors of the administration. They are now to deliberate upon its acts, and to be morally responsible for the wisdom of its policy.

In this new division of power, it is a satisfactory but very

<sup>\*</sup> It is calculated that the whole colony, with a population of 178,000 souls, will have 12,000 voters.

obvious reflection, that in such a region as South Africa, where the extermination of the native tribes is impossible, it is the interest of the colonists to live in peace with them. They will probably, therefore, take steady measures to secure peace. The future relations of the frontiers will accordingly be carried on with more deliberation than heretofore, and disputes which threaten war will, in times to come, be moderated by prudent negotiations. At least that is a point which wise men will aim at with the evil consequences before their eyes of the recent cases in which the contrary course has been followed by unchecked Cape governors. To realize this hope, much more remains to be done than to set up a free colonial legislation. It will be no part of the duty of that legislature to look at the recent, and still less the remote past, vindictively; but signs have already been given that the men who have won the present proud position of the Cape know well, that to fill it fittingly, they must acquire a deep and exact knowledge of that past, its disasters, and its successes, with the causes of both. Unless this be done diligently, the new power just called up can only add to the complex difficulties of South Africa, and bring new disgraces upon our civilization in its struggle with barbarism.

But on this head, there is a duty to be discharged nearer The change actually made in our colonial government is a formal confession of a great error in so long ruling British communities incapably. One chief cause of the incapacity of the Colonial Office to rule, in this case alone, was its profound ignorance of material facts; and nowhere has that ignorance been more marked than in regard to South Africa. Not long ago, Lord Stanley (now Earl of Derby) deferred measures most urgent for the peace of Natal, on the ground that he did not know the state of things there well enough to come to a decision on some vital points respecting its settlement. Again, in 1848, the Privy Council was unable to give an opinion upon the qualification proper for an electoral body at the Cape, 'for want of information.' So the Duke of Newcastle, in 1853, says he is still without the information indispensable to guide his judgment aright on such matters. Yet for above two centuries it has been expressly enjoined on our home colonial authorities to have such knowledge transmitted to them carefully from all the colonists. It is on this head of the importance of more correct intelligence, that steps must be taken at once to stop these scandals; or, in addition to the legislative and administrative power just conferred on the colonists, they will also possess the further superiority given by superior knowledge. In that case, the colonial assemblies will dictate the decision whenever differences arise on weighty questions, and the governors who represent the ministers, but who must recognise their errors, will be compelled to submit to the mortification of

defeat. How this will weaken authority is obvious.

The remedy lies in our own hands, by more scientific methods of disseminating intelligence from beyond sea than are at present in use. The Indian debates have abounded in strange confessions of ignorance on Indian affairs, which volumes of evidence before recent committees, and clouds of pamphlets published on the spur of the moment, cannot possibly cure. Besides all these, it is official intelligence, published soon after the occurrence of events, and with the benefit of contemporary criticism, that must be prepared day by day, and week by week, and illustrated from various sources of impartial information. The parliamentary papers may be easily improved in those respects, and the purpose for which they are printed may be promoted by the publication of proper analyses of their contents in the 'Gazette.'\*

The Society of Arts, by forming a colonial committee, has shown its high estimation of correct intelligence respecting material colonial interests. Information that concerns political affairs is not less important; and these affairs being both more complex and more one of individual agency, especial means ought to be provided for its suitable publication.

Although the need of such information was loudly proclaimed in the late Indian debates, no one suggested how to supply it, either by the contemporary publication of analyses, or by the summoning a few members of Parliament direct from India—or by any other means whatever. The meeting at Manchester has, however, proposed the former step, and it was Mr. Hume, of so much Indian experience, with Sir John Malcolm, Sir George Staunton, and others connected with India and the colonies, who, in 1831, voted for the direct representation of India and the colonies in the House of Commons. That measure would be invaluable, if only introduced to secure the best intelligence from beyond sea for parliament, without any regard to votes.

The immense importance that attaches to ministers acquiring more knowledge than the present arrangement can possibly give them, is nowhere better shown than in regard to South Africa. The Duke of Newcastle has wisely sent a commissioner of

<sup>\*</sup> In 1700, this method of presenting periodical analyses of important colonial intelligence to parliament from the Board of Plantations, was adopted by the advice of Lord Somers. In 1841, an improved plan of such analyses was received favourably by the Secretary of State; but in 1842, it was suddenly rejected. These papers ought to be moved for in Parliament.

high character, Sir George Clerk, to relieve General Cathcart from his too difficult task of settling the complex affairs of the Cape interior. But his grace has committed a gross error in contemplating for a moment the abandonment of the whole of the Sovereignty. It was a great mistake on the part of Sir Harry Smith to seize that region in bulk, and still worse that of the Privy Council in deliberately advising its retention in bulk. We might as well lay hold of all Canton for ourselves, if the civil war in China should disturb our tea-trade, as take the whole vast country from the Orange River to the Vaal River. with its multitudinous independent tribes in friendly league with us, because some of our own emigrant subjects were troublesome neighbours there. Yet this Sir Harry Smith did with no title at all; and the Privy Council sanctioned the act on the title of a conquest, which was so much the more absurd, as no war had existed, nor any conquest been made, or pretended. But if what Sir Harry Smith did with the Sovereignty was done most unwisely, and what the Privy Council deliberately advised in confirmation of his strange act was done in absolute ignorance of the facts of the case, to think of abandoning the portion of it which legitimately and usefully belongs to British subjects shows how little the case is yet understood in the Colonial Office. The positive territorial value of the legitimately obtained possesions in the Sovereignty is immense. Those possessions have been obtained with the tacit acquiescence of our own government during a whole generation, and under positive treaties of at least seven years standing. These facts give the colonists an irresistible claim to continued good government, or to a parliamentary indemnity in case superior considerations demand their withdrawal. But the case has a still stronger point in it. Among other independent chiefs within the limits of the Sovereignty is Moshesh, who is not only powerful, but all parties have long declared him to be a most noble prince, and a most estimable man. In 1851, he was attacked by our resident under circumstances sufficiently discreditable to us, but we were also fairly beaten on that occasion in the fight, when his forbearance alone saved us from very disastrous results. Within a few months, Governor Catheart has tried his strength with him; and it is confidently said that the English general was glad to return to the Cape Colony with the faint semblance of victory. Now, to expect that British power can be withdrawn from the Sovereignty safely after such events, is to reckon on Moshesh possessing qualities more than human; and at his death, his sons and younger brothers are known to be less likely than he is to be swayed by moderate views. This is far from being the worst aspect of the case of abandoning the whole Sovereignty. The republic of Cape emigrants now ccupying its northern borders are already spreading their power in all directions, and will gladly come south. There they will of necessity be joined by the settlers we desert. Together they will be too strong for common native resistance; and wars between both and exasperated native tribes will be inevitable. The last intelligence from the country of the emigrants, whose constitution betrays their hostility to the natives,\* in fact exhibits this part of Africa as a volcano, the character of which may be inferred from the events there during the last sixteen years, to which the Colonial Office has paid so little attention.

The constitutional change within the Cape Colony will, however, call up a new spirit, which must penetrate the furthest interior. If the like change in the government of the Canadas, as is unquestionable, has reconciled the French and English colonists there, the Dutch and English here may be reasonably expected to yield to its influence. The interests of all parties favour this result, and Sir George Clerk will probably crown his mission by something better than a hasty obedience to his supposed instructions. In fact, the change in the Cape constitution, which opens the interior to the political action of the colonists, will force upon our home colonial administration another change quite as important as to the spread of civilized settlements in the interior. To the confession of incapacity in the Colonial Office to rule the colonists without their consent, must be added the admission, that as the home government can neither 'lead' them in their enterprizes beyond the frontiers, nor keep them back, the aid of the colonists themselves must be called in to help stay the frightful evils attendant on the system hitherto pursued in this respect. A South African Union of civilized men favourable to the encouragement of all the tendencies to civilization among their barbarous neighbours must be formed. This matter involves great political problems, and these problems have their origin in the very foundation of civil society. The civilized spread, whatever government may Well guided, they will benefit all; neglected, they will destroy all. One of the worst maxims of the system of the Colonial Office, whose inability to rule is now confessed by its chiefs, has been, that the colonial possessions of England must be narrowed, not enlarged. One of the worst sins of that Office has been the neglect of measures calculated to render our inevitable extension a general blessing. The case of the Cape

<sup>\* &#</sup>x27;Mulattos shall not sit in our assembly before the tenth cross.'—Art. 6th, General Laws of the Trans-Vaal Republic. 1853.

emigrant Boers ought to be fully laid before parliament in its origin, its unhappy progress, through native slaughter, disease, and civil conflicts, and its recent development. The late treaty was made on the spur of alarm on our part, and contains within it germs for a re-union of the emigrants to a free, constitutional

Cape government. The question of spreading into the interior was seriously considered for awhile in the Colonial Office in 1834. The Secretary of State, Lord Monteagle, consulted Sir Andries Stockenstrom on the subject, at that time in Sweden, the home of his forefathers. The reply was given in a paper printed by the Aborigines Committee in 1835, from which the true duty of the government might have been learned. The advice then given was to 'lead' the migrating colonists, and so protect all interests. The Colonial Office, of course, rejected the advice sought by the Secretary of State; and hence the torrents of blood shed in the interior during the last sixteen years, ending with a treaty recognising the independence of a republic of British subjects, willing, under our prudent, cheap, and liberal guidance, to have largely advanced African civilization. Sir Andries Stockenstrom lives to see a new career opened to the Cape, and he will not forget the lesson of his earlier years, but with his colleagues in the new assembly contribute zealously towards the just development of that civilization. The great problem of African progress is probably destined to be solved from the healthy south; and the next twenty years will settle the question whether the wasteful wars of the last seven years are inevitable conditions of our spreading among the native tribes; or whether, as many contend, these wars are attributable solely to the gross impolicy with which the government of the frontiers has been conducted. No increase of territorial resources, or interior trade—not even the boundless metallic riches of Southern Africa, or its more widely extended, and perhaps more valuable, sheep pastures,\* could compensate us for such wars. If, however, it shall be proved by the evidence of experience, that peaceful relations with the Caffres and the Basutus, and their hundred kindred tribes, may be secured, that wealth and those resources will be found to be very different in amount than they

are estimated at in the ill-informed Colonial Office.

The importance of such correct information respecting remote

<sup>\*</sup> The most interesting discovery is just made at the Cape of Good Hope; that a vast extent of country, hitherto thought to be an arid desert, south of the Orange River, is capable of feeding millions on millions of fine-woolled sheep. Within twenty-five years the export of wool has grown from nothing to 7,000,000 lbs., worth £400,000. In twenty-five years more it will be worth £5,000,000 sterling. This is the sober estimate of experienced men.

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regions frequented by our people, is the basis of the society entitled the Cosmos Institute, formed under excellent auspices, in Leicester-square. The same urgent need of that information has been lately pressed upon public attention by the British Association. Both of these efforts deserve to be echoed far and wide.

The same measure of 'self-government' is already extended to New Zealand, which has its peculiar difficulties, and will pro-

bably yield to this effectual corrective.

In another quarter, Jamaica, respect for the same wise principle of self-government seems likely to smooth the way to a satisfactory settlement of serious interior labour difficulties, which might have been met long ago. In times past, such difficulties have been met by the suspension of the 'self-governing' principle. The Duke of Newcastle and his colleagues, zealously attached to it, are unwilling to follow the bad example, to which others, less scrupulous on that head, naturally incline. Success in the more constitutional way of meeting critical conjunctures like the present in that island, may be hoped for, so as to justify confidence in the good old English plan of colonial rule, which is alike suitable to our disastrous,

as to prosperous fortunes.

It has been rashly said that India and the colonies must be governed on the spot,—not at home. If this were true, the expense of our home administration of both ought to be saved at once, and rebellion ought to be timed only according to its prospect of success. But it is not true. On the contrary, the degree in which the authorities in India and the colonies will discharge their duties well in those exceptional cases in which they must unquestionably act on their own responsibility and without consulting us at home, will depend on the capacity of the supreme government at home to judge in the last resort in all cases that can possibly be brought before them with effect, and without public inconvenience. It is not easy to draw the exact line within which these cases fall. They are both numerous and weighty, and they impose upon the home government the urgent task already referred to of commanding a substantial acquaintance with the subjects of this duty. Improvement on this head need not be despaired of. The new India bill contains, in the opening of Indian offices to competition from all the country, the germ of various good. The principle must be applied to colonial offices, and its working will tend, in both cases, to promote a popular knowledge of things in regard to which individual merit will thus have a fair reward for exertion, and the administration of those things will be the more carefully conducted when its severest critics shall be sure of that reward falling to the lot of their deserving friends.

In order that this improved selection of Indian and colonial officers, along with other objects of the reforms in preparation, may be well carried out, the jurisdiction of the privy council, as a court of supreme appeal of every kind, must be placed on a better footing. The Council Act of 1833 partially effected this, but that act unfortunately contained a clause expressly sanctioning the old abuse of refusing to be a complainant to the crown. This must be corrected. If any one right of the subject is more sacred than another, it is our right to administrative as well as to judicial justice; and the practice of not hearing a petitioner in administrative cases is a denial of justice. Two or three years ago, the interior organization of the council was reasonably altered to assist the Colonial Office in the discharge of its more important duties. A similar change in favour of all crown suitors would be equally easy; and that change is satisfactorily begun by the perseverance of the merchants, who have at length begun a wholesome reform of the customs' department of the treasury. By the Customs Act of last session, 'complaints and disputes between merchants and others, and the officers of the customs, are to be adjudicated before the commissioner in an open court, upon hearing and evidence,' like any private case of meum and tuum, instead of being subjected to arbitrary and secret settlement, of late years usual. This is a great triumph of the commercial reformer, and the principle should be carried into all crown matters.

A reform of all departments of state has long been in contemplation. Mr. Gladstone began it in 1846; and the late ministers were prepared to begin it by a royal commission, according to the explanations of Mr. Disraeli in his last financial statement. It would be a work worthy of more popular hands; but nothing can be added to the strength of the Tory Chancellor of the Exchequer's reasons for it. As things stand in the interior of these departments, he said, the chief clerks are so infinitely superior in knowledge to the cabinet, as to be able to thwart indispensable reforms to which they may be themselves opposed. To no other department is this observation applicable so perfectly as to the Colonial Office during the last twenty-five years; and this reform in the case of the Colonial Office cannot now be delayed without extreme hazard, when the colonists, flushed with recent triumphs, will meet new failures on the part of our ministers with feelings of contempt for their incapacity, and of confidence in their own power. There would be sound philosophy in trying the administrative reform planned by Lord Derby's cabinet upon the Colonial Office first. Fiat experimentum in corpore vili, is a safe maxim. If all our pains should be thrown away in endeavouring to mend that Office, no harm

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would be done by deranging the action of what at present goes so ill, that its works are condemned, and its system abandoned in the colonies.

A remarkable elucidation of this subject appeared in the romance of 'Charles Delmer; a Story of the Day,'-a very thinly-disguised biography of the late Mr. Charles Buller, who preceded Mr. Baines as Poor Law Commissioner. Mr. Buller was a man not to have been dealt with after his decease in the way in which his fair fame is treated in this publication. Its frequent marks of talent will not save its author from the severest reproof for dedicating talent to the worst of causes.that of political falsehood, and religious calumny. So clever, indeed, in some of its pages, as well as corrupt in others, is this work, that its frequent bad spelling, bad grammar, and bad taste seem to betray some peculiar blundering in its getting up. It would seem that the secret author must have entrusted his original manuscript to an incapable copyist in order to escape detection. However this may have been, its noxious principles and its libels on all sorts of individuals, and on the whole British people, call aloud for rebuke. The author paints woman without heart, man without honour, society without hope. Being obviously one who has been behind the scenes of official life, with a glimpse, but a glimpse only, of fashionable circles, he has abused the foolish confidence of many of his masters by revealing their weaknesses, and without even pretending to show how government is to be relieved of them—the only excuse for such faithless revelations. He has slandered an eminent religious body-the Society of Friends-by concentrating in a fictitious member of that society an accumulation of crimes too hideous for an unfounded case. But it is not to condemn these things that 'Charles Delmer' is here cited. The book is not 'a story of the day,' as it professes to be. furnishes a key to means of correcting certain old vices, singularly virulent of late, and of which the book is itself a flagrant example-vices of falseness and unscrupulous calumnies. With great pretences of completeness of intelligence on delicate private social points, it is really a curious compound of shallowness as to the best knowledge, and of deficiency in the greater requirements of judgment and integrity on public matters. The book is obviously written by an experienced official hand betrayed into great indiscretions by the itch of scribbling. It bears strong marks of proceeding from one of the two sections of men who discharge the vast official business of this country. To one of these sections belong numerous most upright, most These fellows are able able, and most esteemed individuals. enough, but, at the same time the most unprincipled people upon earth. They have been so described by another official hand, the author of the 'Statesman,'—or, as it should have been called—the 'Pseudo-Statesman.' That book was, in matter of fact, what 'Charles Delmer' is in fiction. Mr. Disraeli, as stated above, declared in the House of Commons that it was determined to reform the public offices, because, with superior knowledge of facts, the permanent heads of those offices obstinately and effectually resist improvement. The author of 'Charles Delmer' gives the following account of their power:—

'The greatest boon in a minister's gift, is certainly the apprentissage to office. Let a man have once possession of official experience, let him have once served an important function, however great or small, let him command a seat in Parliament, he can force his way. No minister, or obstacle, save his own imprudence or impertinence, can bar him. But without the official experience, without the initiation into the machinery of government, politicians are in England mere children, and the cleverest man may be defied, and mocked, and put down in a debate by the dullest.

'Office,' thus described, is held by the author to be 'the primer, dictionary, and elements of the statesman's profession. The whigs,' says he, on 'becoming ministers, have often asked the radicals what they would have; and the niais,—i. e., the simpletons of radicals, have asked for some measure—the penny postage, or some other piece of twaddle—to serve the public. Why did they not ask for secretary-

ships for their very selves?—Vol. i. p. 266, 267.

He will have his statesman 'dive into the studies and archives of the unfathomable information of his office to master that full specialty of knowledge, which, after all, gives the most secure and irrefragable claim to place'!! Yet with this title asserted for knowledge of official mysteries, it is insisted that 'all places, high and low, are only to be obtained by money.' All is baseness among us, according to this estimate. The very 'persons eminent for talent and intellectual endowment, are all hangerson, or lookers-to, too much lost in their own high qualities to esteem any quality in others, even that which is to patronize them, and give them a step.'

The sole exception to this world of immeasurable baseness

is the 'Times' newspaper! (Vol. ii. p. 276.)

The remedies for such melancholy exhibitions are, first, such an administrative reform as Mr. Disraeli said was settled by his ministry, and, secondly, more official publicity, and a better organized system of official appointments, security, and

responsibility.

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ple ial The question of convict-colonization remains to be completely settled. That system is at length abolished, except for a few hundreds of criminals, who are to be sent yearly to Western Australia. But the controversy on the subject has still to be decided. Earl Grey clings with extraordinary resolution to

his scheme for forcing convicts on the Cape colonists; and his policy on this head is believed to have been favoured by his successor, Sir John Pakington. Until the Duke of Newcastle's accession to office, there was an expectation at Natal that convicts from England might be sent thither. The effect of that unfortunate scheme may be inferred from the protest against it which has been pronounced by some emigrant Boers, our neighbours.

'Whereas a report concerning a Memorial signed by certain inhabitants of Pietermaritzburg and Durban (Port Natal), for the introduction of Convicts in the Colony, has reached our Province, I now take upon myself by virtue of the authority vested on me here summarily to express and publish my opinion on that subject. In the first place I say that if the British Government were to sanction such a measure, the country would immediately be ruined; and I therefore trust that a generous government, like the English, never will consent to such a thing. I anticipate in the importation of convicts in South Africa much general dissatisfaction and evil.

'Nor can I abstain from expressing my displeasure to those persons among those friends who have been ill advised or unthinking enough to acquiesce in the execution of a project which must infallibly lead to the total perversion of all classes of our community, and even of the

most distant settlements of South Africa.

'And whereas we are all perfectly convinced here of the disgrace and danger that the importation of Convicts would involve us in, I do hereby provisionally intimate that in the event of this importation actually taking place, we shall from that time not allow any foreigner, (to us not personally known, and who may have contributed to the adoption of this scheme,) to carry on any kind of trade in our district, and all strangers are therefore warned by these presents not to come over to us without being provided with good Testimonials.

'For general information,
'A. W. J. PRETORIUS, Com. Gen.'

Lord Grey says, his convicts would have helped the colonists in the Caffre war. A better lesson on that head may be learned from Mr. Ward's story of 'Jasper Lyle,' the runaway convict, in Caffreland, who excited the natives; and a better still, from the experience of Morocco, where one hundred runaway Spanish convicts, from Ceuta, are the scourge of North-west Africa.

These cases might be paralleled from the experience of every country, ancient and modern, which has practised this theory. But its absolute abolition is the more important to us at this moment, inasmuch as improvement in our prisons, and in the management of discharged convicts at home, both halt only from the hope that still lingers of getting rid of them at any cost. Once extinguish that hope definitively, and the means of those improvements at our command will no longer be delayed. The excepted case of Western Australia will soon

furnish materials for settling this question. Already the evils of forming a community of men without domestic ties, and without the possibility of social restraints, are enormous there; and the action of public opinion in the other parts of the golden continent will enlighten the newly degraded colonists of the Swan River to a sense of their danger, even if the coming measures of prison reform at home do not speedily lead to a reconsideration of the present plan. With colonial reform at home and abroad, must come the practical and thorough improvement of our emigrant ships—a topic too important to be touched on loosely, and to which attention shall be speedily given.

ART. VI.—The Book of Mormon. An Account Written by the Hand of Mormon upon Plates taken from the States of Nephi. Translated by Joseph Smith, jun. Second European Edition. Liverpool: Orson Pratt. 1849.

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2. The Book of Doctrines and Covenants. By Joseph Smith, President. Second European Edition. Liverpool: Pratt. 1849.

3. Collection of Sacred Hymns, for the Church of Jesus Christ of Latterday Saints in Europe. Seventh Edition. Liverpool: Pratt. 1848.

4. The Mormons, or Latter-day Saints. A Contemporary History. London: Office of the 'National Illustrated Library.'

 The Mormons, or Latter-day Saints, in the Valley of the Great Salt Lake. By Lieut. J. W. Gunnison. Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo, and Co. 1852.

WE have no desire to misrepresent the conduct of the 'Latterday Saints,' or to excite prejudice against them. much to interest us in their struggles. Yet we are concerned that the English people should know what they really are, and not be led away by men who have a worldly interest in giving representations which are either untrue, partial, or highly coloured. We have examined their own reports, comparing them with those of respectable witnesses who have lived among them. From all these accounts, we believe them to be a thriving and a cheerful community. Their country is described as abounding in most of the necessaries of life. Not a few of the inhabitants bring with them the good habits which they have acquired elsewhere, and have been allured thither by the prospect of wealth and freedom, quite as much as by confidence in the Mormon doctrines. They are under the presidency of a clever man, who has established good laws, and who, till lately, set them an example of labouring with his own hands. They are generally obedient to what are called 'the counsels' of their They show many signs of an outwardly flourishing American state. It is their great desire to increase as rapidly as possible; and, for this purpose, they send missionaries throughout the world to spread their opinions, and particularly to draw strangers to their territory. In 1849 there were in Utah, or on the frontiers of the neighbouring states, about thirty thousand; and that number was fast increasing from England, Wales, and the Continent of Europe. We have been informed, on good authority, that to superior workmen wages were, at one time, guaranteed for a term of years, without regard to their religious profession. They have founded primary schools. Grounds have been set apart for a university, and the Congress of the United States has granted them the means of procuring a good library.

With such proceedings we have no fault to find. We are glad that the people have obtained a settlement where they can carry on their plans free from interruption, and without injuring any

of the states in the union of which they form a part.

But this is not all. The whole business is managed with the design of establishing a universal government of 'Saints' according to the revelations claimed by Joseph Smith and his followers. Men are required to believe these 'seers' at the peril of their souls. The Mormons, like the Papists, declare themselves to be the only true church of God on earth; and for whatever they do, they produce what they call the express

authority of God in his inspired servants.

It is only reasonable, then, that we should bring such high pretensions to the test. We must have proof that these men deserve to be trusted in this matter. One would hardly put one's money into the hands of a stranger without proofs of his honesty. We seek proof of a physician's skill before we trust our life to him. A witness must know what he says, and be owned as a man of truth, before a jury will take his evidence. Yet thousands of people are trusting their money, their life, and their eternal welfare to a company of men who, in our judgment, are not worthy of such a trust.

We cannot look on the life of Joseph Smith without a growing conviction that he was a deceiver. The books he published are imitations of the Bible, without one proof of their being given from heaven, and abounding with proofs that they were not, and could not be. The peculiar doctrines taught by him and his followers are contrary to the plain meaning of the New Testament; though they profess, in common with all

Christians, to revere that book as the word of God.

It may be said that these are mere opinions, and that the Mormons have as much right as we have to hold their opinions and to preach them. We admit this. We would use neither force nor any other unfair means to abridge their liberty. But when we are convinced that the opinions of a community are unscriptural, and when we find the most active exertions made to gain proselytes by attacking the religious views of all existing churches, it becomes our duty to expose their errors and their false pretensions. Errors and pretensions, such as those which we are considering, cannot be otherwise than mischievous in their effects on society, as well as on the spiritual state of the individuals who maintain them. The mischievous effects are not, however, those which we may only infer from general considerations. They are real facts. To these facts the attention of the reader is requested.

Mormonism is, from first to last, a singular scheme of social life, originating in imposture, managed by the cunning of politicians pretending to be priests, and carried on by a plan of proselytism to a

professedly religious system.

Imposture is all the more vexatious and terrible in its consequences when it is built on extraordinary religious pretensions. Now we know that Smith belonged to a family notorious among their neighbours for bad character. They employed their time in digging in the earth for money and other hidden treasures. 'They used what are called in Scotland "seerstones," through which persons, born under peculiar circumstances, it is imagined, can see things at a distance, or future things passing before their eyes, or things buried in the earth. Such a stone was dug from a well by one Willard Chase, which was loaned to the prophet Joseph, and retained by him, and with which some of his family declared he read in the Golden Bible. . . . . The family also used peach and witch-hazel rods to detect and drive off evil spirits when digging for money; and such branches are supposed by many to point out streams of running water beneath the surface; and are used by miners frequently to find the lodes of mineral, for the currents of water are presumed to run parallel with the veins. They take a forked stick, and hold a prong in each hand, the stem pointing upward, and walk about the field; -if there are any underground springs the stick will turn downward toward it in spite of the holder. Tales of such discoveries are told among this people, and firmly believed at present, not alone by them but by persons in every part of the country.' (Gunnison's 'Mormons,' p. 89.) The fame acquired by Smith for money-digging induced an old Dutchman in Bainbridge, New York, to employ him in search for the wealth which was generally supposed to

have been buried by the original inhabitants, or by wandering

Spaniards, on the banks of the Susquehanna.

While labouring as a professed money-digger, Smith persuaded Miss Hale, at Harmony, Philadelphia, to elope with him, and they were clandestinely married. He had already cheated a man by promising him a share of silver ore, which he told him he had discovered on the Susquehanna; but the mine could not be found. He also induced the old Dutchman, at Bainbridge, to remove him and his wife to Wayne county, by offering half of a bar of gold, which he pretended to have found in a cave near to his father's house: - which of course was not forthcoming. When he had obtained possession of the [ Manuscript Found, there was a prevalent report that a golden Bible had been dug up in Canada. Smith persuaded his family to believe that he had found a golden Bible, though he refused to let them see it. They spread rumours of this discovery in all directions. But it is important to observe, that the complete history of its supernatural origin was not given until

after its publication.

It was by the promise of great rewards that he swindled Martin Harris out of his entire worldly property. As soon as a church was organized at Kirtland, Ohio, in 1830, the year in which the 'Book of Mormon' was published, 'the family of the Smiths rose from poverty to opulence.' A large mercantile house was started on a tithe basis, and obtained credit to a considerable amount; and, in 1837, a bank was set in motion, and property assumed fictitious values. 'The temple, with its various compartments for giving and receiving endowments, or for imparting and obtaining the gifts of the Spirit, was so far advanced that the rites were actually held. For some days wine flowed freely-wine that had been consecrated and declared by the prophet to be harmless and not intoxicating. This, with previous fastings, and expectations wrought to the highest pitch, and other means used to create mental excitement, produced unheard-of effects, if we may credit the witnesses of these proceedings. Visions, tongues, trances, wallowings on the ground, shoutings, weeping, and laughing, the outpouring of prophecies, and terrible cursings of Missourians, exhortations from house to house, and preaching to unseen nations; these, and other fantastic things, were among 'the signs following' at Kirtland.

'Not long after followed the crash of the speculations. The improvident habits of sudden wealth, the unwise investments in lots, houses, and mills, and the loose management of the mercantile firm, brought on embarrassments in 1838. The bank failed, and the managers were prosecuted for swindling. Smith and Rigdon secretly departed for the Far West, the new Zion,

and thus escaped to the "City of Refuge," from the sheriff and his writs, and perhaps from the penitentiary. Here they imparted to the saints the developing nature of their own spirits. New cities were located and settlements begun in Davies, Caldwell, and Carroll counties. The spot where,'—as they pretended—'Adam blessed his children was revealed, and a city was founded in the valley, to be called Adam-mon-diamon, significant of the patriarchal blessing.' (Gunnison, p. 107.)

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While the 'Mormons' increased in Missouri, the leaders extended their ambitious views. Their followers boasted of their power. They defied both laws and mobs. The older inhabitants complained of their dishonesty to them. The doctrine of their divine right to property was found to be inconvenient and naturally excited alarm. The more thoughtful among 'the Saints' began to see through the devices of Smith, and to perceive the evil tendency of some of his doctrines. They abandoned him. Not a few of these 'traitors,' as they were called, 'disappeared suddenly.' The spirit of war was kindled by the preachers.

No doubt, the sufferings of these fanatics were great; but, on the other side, the Mormons inflicted on their opponents all the injuries they could, driving them from their homes into the woods, burning their houses, and putting them to death. The official publications of 'the State,' and of the United States Senate, contain the evidence of the trial of Smith and his com-

panions, as the ringleaders in these outrages.

Whatever may be said on behalf of their deluded followers, no fair-minded man will question that Smith and his immediate associates deserved punishment for wholesale robbery. It is a matter of serious regret that they escaped from prison, leaving

the victims of their imposture to suffer for their crimes.

The settlement at Nauvoo was intended to be the capital of a worldly dominion. The greater part of the emigrants from Europe might have been drawn together by religious motives. But it is well known that men of the most abandoned character joined them, and professed the religion for which they cared nothing, except as a cover for their villany. Speculators, who had resorted thither for the mere purpose of purchasing lots, in the hope of large gains by the sale of them, were unwilling to pay tithes like the rest. The mode of dealing with such persons,—certainly not in any sense religious,—is thus described by an impartial writer:—

'A proper sum would be offered for their improvements in land, and if not accepted, then petty annoyances were resorted to. One of these was called "whittling off." Three men would be deputed and paid for their time to take their jack-knives and sticks,—down-east

Yankees, of course,—and sitting down before the obnoxious man's door begin their whittling. When the man came out they would stare at him, but say nothing. If he went to the market, they followed and whittled. Whatever taunts, curses, or other provoking epithets were applied to them, no notice would be taken, no word spoken in return, no laugh on their faces. The jeers and shouts of street urchins made the welkin ring, but deep silence pervaded the whittlers. Their leerish look followed him everywhere from "morning dawn to dusky eve." When he was in-doors, they sat patiently down, and assiduously performed their jack-knife duty. Three days are said to have been the utmost that human nature could endure of this silent annoyance; the man came to terms, sold his possessions for what he could get, or emigrated to parts unknown.'—Ib. pp. 116, 117.

All that we know of Joseph Smith assures us that worldly gain, in the first instance, and then worldly power, were the objects at which he aimed. When he found how easily he could command followers as a pretended prophet, he made use of their credulity, their fanaticism, and their talents. He was himself a man of great natural abilities. He could read the dispositions of others. He could influence their conduct by studying the motives from which they acted. He showed himself in the character most attractive to them. ployed them in the way most agreeable to themselves, and most likely to secure and extend his power. By the great number of his followers, in several of the states, he was rapidly acquiring influence on political questions. He published his views of government. He made use of Harris's money to publish his 'Book of Mormon;'-of Rigdon's methodical talents, to organize a church, and draw up a system of doctrines to which he prefixed his own name; -and of Cowdry's writing, to make up for his own want of penmanship. To the Jews he held out the expectation of their long-looked for Messiah; to the American Indians he gave a fabulous account of their origin, and foretold their future grandeur; to the Christian he offered a divine explanation of many parts of the New Testament;to all his followers he exhibited the most alluring prospects of worldly riches. The industrious were encouraged to labour, though he claimed to be excused on the authority of a pretended revelation. The brave were drilled in military bands. inquisitive and loquacious were employed as missionaries. If any dissented, their characters were blackened, and their persons exposed to every kind of annoyance. He had one doctrine for the many; another for the initiated and trusted few. He became not only the head of a church, but the mayor of a city, and the commander of a legion. He forcibly resisted the constitutional authority of the government under which he lived. He abetted the destroyers of the property of those who reproached him. It was when arrested on a charge of robbery, murder, and treason, awaiting his trial at Carthage, and defending himself with fire-arms from the violence of citizens whom he had exasperated by his proceedings, that he was shot, as he attempted to escape by leaping from the window of his gaol.

An intelligent Englishman who visited Nauvoo, heard Smith preach, and conversed with him in private, describes him as a person of rude manners, fond of low jocularity, but shrewd, and of great powers in the pulpit. Referring to a long con-

versation he had with him in his own house, he says,—

'He did not like some of the questions I put to him. When speaking of his first vision, I inquired "which of the persons of the Trinity it was who appeared to him?" He replied,—"It was the Father with the Son on his right hand, and he said, "'I am the Father, and this being on my right hand is my Son Jesus Christ." There was nothing in his appearance to indicate any abberration of intellect, or that he gave himself to any great degree of mental abstraction. My conclusion was that he was an impostor.'—Intellectual Repository: 'Letter of Adam Howarth, Cincinnati, August 12th, 1843.'

When we consider the extraordinary career of this singular man, and the deep hold which his doctrines have on the minds of thousands, it is not wonderful that contradictory opinions should be entertained of his true character. He had too much sagacity and selfishness to be the honest enthusiast which some would represent him to have been: for, in whatever degree he may have been led by the dreams of a heated imagination to believe his own lie, there is nothing in the general experience of mankind, in similar cases, to prevent our concluding that he was one of the most daring and artful of impostors. What other consistent explanation can be given of his early tricks—his repeated acts of barefaced robbery-his turning every event to his own glory and advantage—his grasping at power—his tenacious holding of that power—and his reliance on force, where fraud could not avail, even to the last moment of his life? For his celebrity, for the long continuance of his name, even after what men call his religion will have vanished before the light of Truth, he will be more indebted to the circumstances of his death than to any part of his life. His followers are not likely to receive with patience the assurance, from impartial persons, that it is a mere perversion of language to call him a martyr. A martyr is one who suffers death rather than renounce his faith. Joseph Smith was not asked to renounce his religion: his doing so would not have saved him. The American government neither had, nor wished to have, anything to do with his 'revelations,' as he called them. The mob that murdered him cared nothing for

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his faith. The people of Missouri would have left him alone, had they not believed that he had committed crimes for which he would have been legally tried if his life had been spared. To compare the unexpected end of such a man with the death of Stephen, or any of the other holy men who have suffered for the name of Jesus, whether in apostolic or in later times, is to confound things widely different, and is but the perpetuation of the imposture. We know how vain it is to reason on this subject with the upholders, or the dupes, of that imposture. But we may hope to convince not a few of those whom they are seeking to proselytize in this country, that—whatever Joseph Smith was—his being murdered while attempting to escape from the jail in which he was confined as an arrested traitor, cannot

entitle him to the venerated name of martyr.

The same worldly scheme which Joseph Smith set up at Nauvoo is successfully carried on to this day in the Great Salt Lake territory. The people have settled in the Great Valley surrounded by the Rocky Mountains, at an equal distance from the States of the Mississippi and California, on the Pacific, stretching nearly two thousand miles east and west, and bounded on the north and south by inhospitable wastes. present locality is the eastern portion of the Great Basin, a succession of mountains and vales, extending nearly five hundred miles both in breadth and length, a region of great fertility, capable, according to a moderate calculation, of sustaining a million of inhabitants. Finding this territory unoccupied, they have made it their own, under the cover of claiming it as belonging to the Lord, for the use of his 'saints.' In their wars with the Indian tribes that rove between New Mexico and California, they have been the conquerors, and have established a political control over as many as they have not destroyed. While the question of their relation to the general government remains unsettled, the right of occupying land is assigned by the precedency of the State. Trafficking in land for profit is forbidden by the present rulers.

At present their administration of justice is simple and prompt, according to the simplest American ideas. 'The laws of the Lord,' are said to be revealed, though not yet published. Governor Young's 'message to the Council and House of Representatives of the legislature of Utah,' is a document bearing marks of political skill and forethought, not unworthy of comparison with other papers of the same description. From that message, it appears that a new site has been selected as the capital of the territory in Pauvan valley, to be called Fillimore

City.

Now, as the whole of this worldly scheme began in religious

imposture, so it has been carried on to the present time by a policy which is represented as given by revelation from Heaven. This policy is in the hands of men pretending to be priests. Knowing that religious organization has always been one of the most powerful means of managing mankind, and living among a republican people, they have taken care that no law shall be recognised by them but the 'Mormon' law. Seer is the highest magistrate. The bishops are the justices. The judges are 'high priests' or 'apostles.' To any other tribunals they will not submit. If any governor but their 'Seer' should be appointed, no regard would be paid to his proceedings. This is the corner-stone of the whole system. government is a government of priests, who are not chosen by the people. The law of marriage taught in the writings of the Mormons is the same as that acknowledged by all Christians. The practice of their priests, however, is described by writers who have had opportunities of observing, in a way which delicacy requires us not to conceal, but only to expose. judges of the Utah territory reported to the Congress:—

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'We deem it our duty to state, in this official communication, that polygamy or "plurality of wives" is openly avowed and practised in the territory, under the sanction and in obedience to the direct commands of the church. So universal is the practice that very few, if any, leading men in the community can be found who have not more than one wife each, which creates a monopoly, and which is peculiarly hard on the officers sent to reside there. The prominent men in the church, whose example in all things it is the ambition of the more humble to imitate, have each many wives, some of them, we are credibly informed, and believe, as many as twenty or thirty, and Brigham Young, the governor, even a greater number. Only a few days before we left the territory the governor was seen riding through the streets of the city in an omnibus with a large company of his wives, more than two-thirds of whom had infants in their arms—a sure sign that the evil is increasing. It is not uncommon to find two or more sisters married to the same man, and in one instance at least a mother and her two daughters were among the wives of a leading member of the church. This practice, regarded and punished as a high and revolting crime in all civilized countries, would, of course, never be made a statutory offence by a Mormon legislature, and of a crime at common law the court would be powerless to correct the evil with Mormon juries.'-'Times,' Jan. 20, 1852.

Mr. William Kelly, in his 'Excursions in California,' gives a lively account of his entertainment at the Great Salt Lake City:—

'I was not aware,' he says, 'before that polygamy was sanctioned by their creed beyond a species of ethereal Platonism, which accorded to its special saints chosen partners called "spiritual wives;" but I now

find that these, contrary to one's ordinary notions of spiritualism, gave birth to cherubs and unfledged angels. When our party arrived we were introduced to a staid, matronly looking lady as Mrs. \*\*\*\*, and as we proceeded up the room to a blooming young creature, a fitting mother for a celestial progeny, as the other Mrs. \*\*\*\*, without any worldly or spiritual distinction whatsoever. At first I thought it a misconception, but inquiry confirmed the fact of there being two mistresses in the same establishment, both with terrestrial habits and duties to perform, which I found afterwards to be the case in other instances, where the parties could lay no claim to any particular saint-liness.'—'The Mormons,' p. 68.

Captain Howard Stansbury, the commanding officer of the United States' exploring expedition to the Great Salt Lake of Utah, states expressly:—

'I heard it proclaimed from the stand (pulpit), by the president himself, that he had a right to take a thousand wives if he thought proper, and he defied any one to prove from the Bible that he had not. At the same time, I have never known any of the community allow that he himself had more than one, although that such was the fact was as well known as any fact can be.'

Lieutenant Gunnison, an officer in the same expedition, says,—

'That polygamy existed at Nauvoo, and is now a matter scarcely attempted to be concealed among the Mormons, is certain. Elsewhere are given the reasons for its justification. It is a thing of usual and general conversation in the mountains, and we often heard one of the presidency spoken of with his twenty-eight wives; another with forty-two, more or less, and the third called an old bachelor because he has only a baker's dozen. It is neither reproach nor scandal; no one is present to see the ceremony of "sealing," but the priestly clerk and parties; therefore if a Gentile asks one if all the women in his neighbour's house with prattling babes are the landlord's wives, the answer is, "I know nothing about it, and attend to no man's family relations." —p. 120.

The same writer gives the following statement:-

'Missionaries are sent with all the promptness of military orders, a three days' notice for a three years' absence from family and business not unfrequently being all that is given. Families are cared for by the president and bishops. Three hundred were chosen at one conference. Previous to starting they were assembled to receive the orders of Joseph. He preached a fervid sermon that stimulated their pride of conquering difficulties without scrip or purse. One of that band, still well-affected to the society, though differing on one point from its teaching, related to the writer some parts of the discourse. One main point insisted on was that "spiritual wifery" was to be most positively denied, and that they taught that one man should live in chaste fidelity with one woman in conjugal relationship. In the dark concerning the

revelation allowing polygamy, he sincerely declared that but one wife was ever known to any of his brethren. While zealously preaching in the city of New York, he was thought worthy by the apostle Lyman to be let into the secret of the "blessings of Jacob," the privileges of the saints. Called aside one day by the president of "the stake," he was told that God had always rewarded his distinguished saints with special privileges, such as would be wrong for sinners, but by revelation made harmless to the good. As an instance, he would cite Jacob, David, and Solomon, who had many wives allowed them. In these last days also, the like had been accorded to Joseph Smith and others, and having now full confidence in his holiness, the priest could have the same privilege of adding to the household of faith many children by choosing additions to the present wife. The priest says he was utterly astounded; but, on reflection, chose to dissemble, and say he would consider the matter. In the evening, he was invited to witness "a sealing" of several couples at a large boarding-house. In the front parlour, the ceremony, like a marriage, was performed; and as each pair was "finished" by the priest, they retired through the folding-doors and thus to their own apartments. The guest was so shocked, that he retired to his home, and though he never took any part against the "church of new privileges," he was denounced as a deserter in their papers, and the public cautioned against him as a defamer. Strange to say, he was, at the time of our interview, contemplating rejoining his people in the mountains.—(p. 118). . . . 'Of all the children that have come under our observation, we must in candour say that those of the Mormons are the most lawless and profane. Circumstances connected with travel, with occupations in a new home, and desultory life, may in part account for this; but when a people make pretensions to raising up "a holy generation," and are commanded to take wives for the purpose, we naturally look at the qualities of the fruit produced by the doctrines, and surely they would not complain of the Scripture rule,—" By their fruits ye shall know them." '- 'The Mormons,' p. 160.

The practice of polygamy has been publicly vindicated by the Mormon apostles. Their arguments are of the most offensive character. With a tone which we cannot distinguish from speaking 'a word against the Son of Man' (Luke xii. 10), one of them has not been afraid to print the following:—'If at the marriage of Cana of Galilee, Jesus was the bridegroom, and took unto him Mary and Martha, and the other Mary whom Jesus loved, it shocks not our nerves.'!!—(Orson Hyde.—'The Guardian,' Dec. 26, 1851.)

We have sufficient evidence of the propagation of this vile and horrible doctrine even in our country, although the preachers of Mormonism openly deny it, or represent it as merely the personal fault of individuals. Parents, husbands, and all who care for purity of morals, and the happiness of families, cannot be too much on their guard against these false prophets and

pretended saints.

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In the 'Deseret News' of November 15th, 1851, there is a report of the trial of Howard Egan, before the United States District Court for the territory of Utah, on indictment for murder of James Monroe. In the charge of the judge it is clearly laid down that 'the law does not permit a person to take the redress of grievances into his own hands.' every territory is governed by its own laws, the prisoner, according to the laws of the territory of Utah, was pronounced by the jury 'not guilty.' Such are the ideas of right and wrong, of crime and justice, in that territory, that a man who kills another in cool blood, to revenge a personal injury, and who, according to the laws of the United States, as well as of England, would be condemned as a murderer, is acquitted according to the common law of Utah; and this acquittal is published by Mormons in England as a 'refutation of the calumniating charges which are so lavishly bestowed upon an injured and unoffending people.'

There is something very obscure in the notions and practices of 'the Mormons,' in regard to the 'red men' and the negroes. In the 'Book of Mormon,' we find a whimsical account of the 'curse of a black skin. For, behold, they had hardened their hearts against him, that they had become like unto a flint, wherefore as they were white and exceeding fair and delight-some, that they might not be enticing to my people, the Lord God did cause a skin of blackness to come upon them.' (p. 66.)

In another part of the 'Book of Mormon,' 'the Lamanites, who had united with the Nephites, were numbered among the Nephites, and their curse was taken from them, and their skin

became white like unto the Nephites.' (p. 436.) According to Lieut. Gunnison's report, the Latter Day Saints hold that 'the negro is cursed as to the priesthood, and must always be a servant wherever his lot is cast, and therefore shall never attain anything above a dim shining glory. the human race is the lowest grade. A first descending probation would be that of the Indian, for the red men have been eursed only as to colour and indolent habits; and through repentance and obedience, and acceptance of the newly-proclaimed gospel, they can be restored to pristine rights and beauty, and become again "a fair and delightsome people," worthy of their origin from the Jews of Palestine. When these grades have not been effectual in subduing the rebellious spirit, a third would be assigned to them into the brute species, and a choice taken among them; and when we are tormented with a refractory horse, or obstinate ass, it may not be amiss to reflect, that they are actuated by an apostate soul, and exemplifying a few of the "human infirmities." ' (p. 51.)

'Involuntary labour by negroes,' says Lieut. Gunnison, 'is

recognised by custom; those holding slaves, keep them as part of their family, as they would wives, without any law on the subject. Negro caste springs naturally from their doctrine of

blacks being ineligible to the priesthood.' (p. 143.)

In Governor Young's message (1852), the legislature of Utah is told that 'the seed of Canaan will inevitably carry the curse which was placed upon them until the same authority which placed it there shall see proper to have it removed. Service is necessary, it is honourable, it exists in all countries, and has existed in all ages; it will probably continue, in some form or other, in all time to come.' Though 'service' here seems to mean forced labour, or slavery, since 'the true policy of Utah, in regard to slavery,' is the immediate subject, the governor says, explicitly-' My own feelings are, that no property can or should be recognised as existing in slaves; but he makes a distinction between 'those who brought into servitude human beings who naturally were their equals,' and those who, 'acting upon the principle of nature's law, brought into this position or situation those who were naturally designed for that purpose, and whose capacities are more befitting that than any other position in society.' 'Thus, while servitude may and should exist, and that too upon those who are naturally designed to occupy the position of "servants of servants," yet we should not fall into the other extreme, and make them as beasts of the field, regarding not the humanity which attached to the coloured race, nor yet elevate them, as some seem disposed, to an equality with those whom nature and nature's God has indicated to be their masters;' and with some obscurity of expression, he adds, 'nor yet again drag into servitude, through the circumstances of penury or misfortune, those our equals' (not negroes), 'peradventure, of a common parentage with ourselves; but rather let us build upon a foundation which the God of nature has furnished, observing the law of natural affection for our kind, and subserve the interest of our fellows by extending the principles of true liberty to all the children of men, in accordance with the designs of their Creator.' Of this policy he says, 'This may be said to present a new feature in the traffic of human beings.' (' Deseret News,' April, 1852).

We have stated that the parties who entice the people of Europe to Mormonism, have an interest in giving poetical re-

presentations of the temporal felicity of Utah.

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The presidents of the English conferences are Americans, who live upon the people. Like other emigration agents, they have had a profit out of the passage money of the emigrants from Liverpool to New Orleans. The same has been repeated on the steamer from New Orleans to St. Louis.

The same game was played at Nauvoo.

'The Mormon missionaries address the cupidity as well as the religious hopes and fears of those they address. Travelling from city to city, calling at houses, and talking to those on the way-side familiarly, and working occasionally at some trade for support, they stealthily introduce the subject at heart, and take many unawares. It is usual to use the Socratic method, and ask if the former church had not gifts, if there were not promised "signs following," and if any church now shows them; then they follow up by an exposition of their doctrines, and claim, at the Zion of America, to have all the promises. If the listener is not a man of wealth, he will be told that the command is to gather to the mountains, where the finest land is offered for a few shillings, just enough to pay for surveying and recording a title to a farm. To the peasantry of Europe, it is a powerful and irresistible argument. Accustomed to see the aristocracy owners of the soil, they yearn to call a parcel of ground their own, for it conveys a feeling of translation from serfdom to princedom; and perhaps such make the finest patriots in this new empire. And the doctrine of every woman a husband, every Magdalen pure when baptized, will secure many of the softer sex; so that we may not be surprised at the sudden conversion of whole families; and tens of thousands, as the popular eloquence falls on the ears of those who emerge from factories, workshops, and collieries.'—'Gunnison,' pp. 143, 144.

A Christian reader would naturally ask—What has all this worldly system which you call 'Mormonism' to do with the religion of Jesus Christ? Our answer is—that it is looked at favourably by not a few who are opposed to that religion. some, it is liked better than the religion of Christ, simply because it is so worldly in its character. For one man that cares to be instructed in right views of God, as our Maker, Lord, and Father—of man in his fallen state and misery—of the way of restoration to God's favour by trusting entirely to the righteousness of his Son, our saviour—of the grace of the Holy Spirit by which alone we can be created anew unto good works—and of the life to come, revealed in the Gospel, as our encouragement to holiness, and our comfort in distress, there are many thousands eagerly seeking wealth, freedom, independence, and power, to whom the bold pretensions, and large earthly promises of Mormonism are very captivating.

By some it is imagined to be more consistent with the religion of Jesus Christ than the doctrines and customs of any other churches bearing the Christian name. The strong language in which the Mormonites denounce all Christians not belonging to their 'church,' produces a deep impression on many minds. In this respect, as in so many others, they are a good deal like the Roman Catholics. By pretending to have revelations which

are not contained in the Bible, they assume, as belonging to them alone, the divine right to preach, to baptize, and to rule in the spiritual affairs of mankind. Persons ignorant of the Scriptures cannot see through the absurdity of their two priesthoods, which are contrary to the plain meaning of both the Old and New Testaments, and have no authority but in the dreams or pretended visions of Joseph Smith. Neither can such persons see through the silly mimicry of the things done by the apostles, who were sent forth to be witnesses of Jesus Christ as a Saviour risen from the dead, and their violent applications of ancient

prophecies to the Book of Mormon.

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Nothing is easier among the ignorant multitude than to persuade them to believe in quack advertisements and ridiculous stories about miracles. One of their apostles says, of what he calls the 'evidences' of Mormonism, they are 'such as will prove the salvation of every creature that receives the message, and the damnation of every soul that rejects.' ('Divine Authority,' by Orson Pratt, p. 16.) 'No one can be saved who rejects baptism. Baptism is the condition of forgiveness. Baptism is essential to salvation.' 'Faith, repentance, and baptism are three essential conditions preceding remissions of sins. Each are equally important.' 'There is no other way or plan under the whole heavens that will save men.' 'No church, either among the papists or Protestants, have taught all the first principles of the Gospel in their proper order. By this we know that they are not the church of God. God is not with them. sins are not forgiven. The Holy Ghost is not given to them, and they cannot be saved in the fulness of the Glory of the Father's kingdom, neither they nor their fathers for many generations past.' 'They have the bold confidence to call themselves Christian churches; -but they have nothing to do with Christ, neither has Christ anything to do with them, only to pour out on them the plagues written. He has not spoken to any of them for many centuries, neither will he speak to them, only in wrath and in the fierceness of his anger, when he riseth up to overthrow, to root up, and to destroy them utterly from earth.' ('The Kingdom of God,' Part II. p. 8.) To all the ministers of Christian churches, without any exception, but the 'Latter-day Saints,' this writer says: 'Why do you, through your mock piety and cunning craftiness, not only close the gates of heaven upon yourselves, but hedge up the way of others who would know the truth and be saved? How can you escape the vengeance of eternal fire? How long will the Lord suffer you to practise your deceptions and wickedness? The hour of your judgment is nigh! Howl, ye apostate churches, for the miseries which shall come upon you! The day of his fierce vengeance is at

hand, and ye shall utterly perish from the earth.' ('The King-

dom of God,' Part IV.)

All this fanatical imitation of the Old Testament prophets. we read without fear, because we have seen the imposture and delusion from which it springs; but the effect of these arrogant and fierce denunciations on ill-instructed minds is very great. They do not know the character and the history of the men who produced this monstrous scheme, and who are managing it in a wild mountain district, thousands of miles away from England. Many of them are glad to see the various religious parties in this country coarsely abused. Most of them are fond of what is new and marvellous. Not a few of them have made up their minds to go somewhere or other, along with the streams of emigration that are flowing towards the American continent; and these are prepared to listen with eager attention to preachers who promise them all manner of good in this life, and the sure possession of happiness in the only way in which they say it can be found, for the life which is after death.

None of us can deny that there are many evils in this country. Wide doors of escape from some of these evils are opened by the Providence of God in distant lands.—It would be most unfair to deny the great ignorance, superstition, and false preaching, which abound in this country. We are not surprised, therefore, that there should be persons willing to follow leaders who have much zeal, speak with great earnestness, and are constantly employing specious arguments in favour of their own teaching. It would be equally unfair not to admit that many important truths are taught by Mormons. But they have no truths which are not already taught in the Bible; and they teach for truths many other things—and these are their distinguishing doctrines—which are not only not taught in the Bible, but contrary to the things which are taught there as the distinguishing

doctrines of the Gospel.

Persons who know little or nothing of the proceedings of the Mormons, are of necessity unacquainted with 'The Book of Mormon,' 'The Book of Doctrines and Covenants,' or the numerous publications in the form of pamphlets and magazines, in which the divine authority of those 'Books' is defended. We have felt it to be our duty to examine the 'books,' and a considerable number of these magazines and pamphlets, for ourselves. Now, while there are many proofs of gross ignorance, manifest trickery, and glaring contradictions in these writings, it is not easy for ordinary readers to detect them; while some of them are written with considerable intelligence and skill. We are, therefore, not at all surprised at their gaining proselytes; and it is well known that proselytes to a party being once gained, resolutely shut their eyes against everything

opposed to the system they have adopted, while they eagerly receive and magnify whatever may be said on its behalf.

The advocates of Mormonism persist in denying all that has been said, on the clearest evidence, against the character of They hold up men who have suffered for real Joseph Smith. or alleged *criminal* offences as martyrs to the truth. They denounce all who oppose them by argument as persecutors. They make use of Protestant arguments against Roman-catholic traditions, and Roman-catholic arguments against Protestant declarations of the sufficiency of Scripture as the only rule of They borrow the most plausible objections of infidels against the truth and divine authority of the Bible. Though Joseph Smith and his assistants copy the exact words of the English Bible translated in the reign of James I., Mr. Orson Pratt has scraped together all he knew, apparently, of the refuted objections to the Bible as we now have it, for the express purpose of establishing the superiority of the 'Book of Mormon' to the Bible, which same Bible the Latter-day Saints profess to believe as 'the word of God,' and to which they appeal as an authority for many of their fundamental doctrines. It requires some thought, and not a little information, to be able to expose the ignorance, craft, inconsistency, and utter falsehood of a writer who makes such violent efforts to draw the English people from the Bible to the American 'Book of Mormon.'

At the present time, these fanatics, finding that their bold assertions of the purity of their prophet's character go for little,

have adopted a new plan. They say,-

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'Some people, who cannot find anything better to do, speak much evil of Joseph Smith. Now, the character of Joseph Smith is not the question. Was Joseph Smith sent of God,—and did he preach the true principles of the everlasting Gospel? . . . Here is a fact: Joseph Smith introduced the pure principles of the everlasting Gospel to this generation, and every faithful Latter-day Saint knows this for himself; he is not dependent on the testimony of others alone, for he has proven the thing on the principle pointed out. Now, no matter if Mr. Smith apostatized from the truth, died a villain, and is gone to hell—this then is plain, this generation will be under condemnation if they obey not the gospel which God revealed through Joseph Smith.'—' Millennial Star,' Ap. 1, 1852, p. 140.

This is sheer fanaticism. The character of Joseph Smith is the question. If he was an impostor, the 'Book of Mormon' is an imposture, the 'Book of Doctrines' is an imposture—The whole system of the Latter-day Saints is an imposture. We have no proof that Joseph Smith was sent of God. His own testimony, and that of his 'witnesses,' are of no value. Mr. Orson Pratt sets up for a prophet himself, and after producing what he calls 'evidence' in favour

of the 'Book of Mormon,' he gravely says,—'I now bear my humble testimony to all the nations of the earth who shall read this series of pamphlets that the 'Book of Mormon' is a divine revelation, for the voice of the Lord hath declared it to me. And having been commanded of the Lord, in his name I humbly warn all mankind to repent of all their sins, to turn away from all their false doctrines, and to forsake the precepts of un-

inspired men.'

Such is the style in which false teachers have been deceiving men from the beginning. By such bold assertions men have in all ages been drawn away from the pure religion of the New Testament. Besides boasting of inspiration possessed by thousands, the Mormons constantly assert that the 'Book of Mormon' is composed by miracle; and they have marvellous stories of the healing of the deaf and dumb, the blind, the lame, the leprous, ruptures, fevers, fits, cholera. These miracles are said to present a thousand times more evidence than we have for those recorded in the New Testament. Such has been the boast of the Roman-catholic Church for centuries down to present day. Individual impostors have deceived great numbers of persons in this country. Mesmerism has produced what would be called incredible wonders, if they had not been received as true by so many. Millions of people have believed in magic, and witcheraft, and quack doctors. Almost anything unlooked for is apt to be called miraculous.

An infidel might say,—'So it is with your Bible miracles.' To him our reply would be this: the miracles recorded in the New Testament were publicly wrought in the presence of enemies, uncontradicted, incapable of being explained by natural causes, perfectly attested by men who gave every proof of intelligence and honesty—appealing to hundreds of living witnesses who entered on a new course of life in conformity with new doctrines, which were worthy of the miracles, even as the miracles were worthy of the doctrines:—the whole composing a religious system of whose origin no other account can be given, and which survives the tests, persecutions, and corruptions of eighteen hundred years.

But the Mormon cannot consistently say what the infidel says. He professes to believe the miracles of Scripture. Now there must be, there is, an essential difference between true and pretended miracles. Real miracles are wrought by the power of God; pretended miracles are the cunning tricks of the men who work them, or mistaken views of natural events on the part of the ignorant beholders. Let any one compare a chapter in the New Testament with the accounts of miracles published by the Mormons, and he will see what a difference there is between the one and the other. The history of Joseph Smith in

the 'Millennial Star' (vol. iv.), relates some extravagant stories of this kind, and a collection of them is printed in a pamphlet by Mr. Orson Pratt. A calm consideration of each of these cases has convinced us that no miracle was wrought in any one of There is not any of the same kind of evidence on which we believe the miracles of the New Testament. They are like thousands of cases called miracles, in the legends of the Roman Catholics. They are connected, also, with pretended revelations from heaven, and are all brought forward to prove the divine authority of 'the book of Mormon.' Enough has been said in these pages to prove that the whole scheme is an impudent imposture. Our Saviour told his disciples of 'false prophets who shall shew great signs and wonders.' The Apostle Paul expressly foretold that there would be 'lying wonders' leading men to 'believe a lie,' and the last prophet of the Bible describes one who 'doeth great wonders and deceiveth them that dwell on the earth.'

Mormonism is a more compact system of 'priestcraft' than Romanism. Its priesthood is an unscriptural usurpation; its miracles are impostures; its doctrines are contrary to those of Scripture; its practical working is that of worldly-minded, crafty, and ambitious priests, on the ignorance, credulity, and super-

stition of their followers.

Mormonism differs from all the Christian professions in the world, except the papal, in making all the things of religion serve the worldly selfishness and ambition of priests. This is not an abuse of the system: it is the system itself; a tenth part of the property of the Mormons goes into their hands; and they are the supreme rulers in all things, both temporal and

spiritual.

The Mormon preachers and writers are most bitter in their railings against all churches and ministers except themselves, calling them by the most disgraceful and insulting names, and dealing out against them the most burning curses. any one opposes them by fair discussion of their claims, and calm exposure of their delusions, they cry out that they are persecuted. We are little moved by all this. It provokes only compassion for their ignorance, and prayer to God that He would give them a better mind. The wide spread of this system is a serious fact, however, and we view it as likely to produce great mischief. It is a bad thing for men to be puffed up with the notion that they have got a new Bible, a new priesthood, a new religion. It is a bad thing for men to have a spirit of greediness, and fighting, and trickery. It is a bad thing for men to get into the way of believing doctrines not contained in the Bible as revelation from God. Yet this is MORMONISM.

We may be asked,—How is this evil to be prevented? Our answer is—by teaching people what the Bible is, as different from all other books, helping them to understand the proofs we have that it is the word of God; by setting them the example of the practical religion which it teaches; and especially by sympathizing with them in their struggles against poverty and other worldly evils. So long as we neglect to use such means, we must not complain when those whom we have neglected are carried away by ingenious and earnest teachers who go among them as the champions of Mormonism. It is, in many cases, too late to check the evil after it has begun. It is better to prevent it. It can be prevented—if those who secure the confidence of the people by Christian kindness will fairly explain to them what Mormonism is, and how it differs from the pure faith of the Gospel, in its evidences, in its doctrines, in its practices, in

its spirit, and in its effects on society.

These views are now published in the hope of drawing attention to the subject. We have not formed our judgment rashly. We have taken much pains to procure information. We know that Mormonism is not to be despised. We also know that it cannot be successfully defended by true statements and fair argument. We believe that, like other delusions which have had their day, it will vanish; but not before it has done much injury. At Utah, its present head quarters, it is gradually losing much of its original character. As the present generation passes away, it will probably undergo great changes, some of them necessitated by political causes, of which the signs are already visible to thoughtful observers. Better territories, and more accessible, offer more independent homes to industrious emigrants. People are becoming more informed. Christians of various denominations are taking more seriously to heart both the social and the spiritual condition of the multitudes, among whom the Mormon preachers in this country gain their converts. We wish to help forward these ministries There is great need for them. of Christian love. need to be conducted with great intelligence, with much patience, with untiring faith in the truth of God, and with earnest prayer for the power of the Holy Spirit to turn men from sin to holiness, through believing on the Son of God.

What the Gospel has done, it can still do; but then it must be preached fully, clearly, lovingly, and wisely: so as to meet the errors of the present day, by understanding them first, then by seeing and showing whence they have sprung, and, finally, by appealing to men's judgments and consciences on behalf of what we know to be God's own message, in humble reliance on his promised grace. To all who thus preach, we bid 'God speed.'

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ART. VII.—Rouse's Building and Freehold Land Society's Directory and Almanack for 1853. London: Rouse and Co.

2. The Freeholders' Circular. Published by the National Freehold Land Society. March, 1852—May, 1853.

3. Prospectus of the Conservative Land Society, enrolled under 6 and 7 William IV., c. 32.

4. Prospectus of the Church of England and General Freehold Land Allotment Society.

START not, reader, if we do,—with a paradox. We have a great deal of respect for opinion in the paradoxical stage; seeing that, since the golden age at least, almost every doctrinal fact worth respecting in the world, came for some time within the definition. But while these amiable eccentricities of the mind are for the most part progressive, ours goes backward in a way, the crab of paradoxes—crabbed if you please.

### 'Nil medium est\_\_\_\_'

With much respect for the missionaries of mental cultivation, and admiration of earnest and noble efforts for popular education, we would nevertheless submit, that in zeal for the diffusion of a higher knowledge, things material in social life have been too much neglected. If the one should not precede the other—and there has been much circle-reasoning with many gyrations of opinion on the point—they ought to move hand in hand together, to produce steady, beneficent, and national results.

This opinion may not rise to ideal views of humanity, which soar to cloud-land. Classic precedents are against it. It may wound the vanity of human greatness and dignity. But if the aim of reforming effort be to elevate and enlighten man, the animal who, once at least in the daily turn of the great globe, must bend to the undignified necessity of eating and drinking, to a plain understanding, it seems a practical mode of dealing, with poor humanity. In spite of philosophic saws and lively imaginings of human dignity, the economists are proving that mankind must still farther, and in concert, develop the faculties of 'acquisitiveness.' Wealth seeking is not necessarily self-seeking; mankind may grow rich without sacrificing on the altars of Mammon.

Forbid that the everlasting mind should ever be deemed the bond slave to the hand which will inevitably perish! While the mind, in a thought, can course from Earth to Uranus, the telegraph must go through countless improvements to outstrip that

wondrous flight. But as a healthy body is needful to an active mind in the produce of intellect, so in the body social must there be material well-being to make an educated people. Man, however lowly or woeful his lot may be, is ever looking with hope for a brighter future. Under the hard pressure of poverty he sees, instinctively, in his dim future, a narrow land only of milk and honey; let him be lifted above the wants of an hour, and his reason elevates him from the real to the ideal, carrying him onward, and ever onward, into the boundless universe of the The genius or the iron will of a few master minds may conquer hard difficulties of society; but who that is wise by observation, would sow seeds of knowledge on the wastes of poverty, and trustingly wait till they grow fruitful? As the mind is weak when the body lacks its physical nourishment, efforts for the mental cultivation of the millions will be weak when there is no care to teach how the physical health and strength of society may be improved by self-exertion: with a marvellous increase of power, when the exertion is in union of purpose and effort.

Herein lies our paradox.

It must be admitted that some benevolent and considerable efforts have in recent years been made, both by teaching and example, to remedy material evils in the social system. But these have been the results of accident, not of well-considered system; and taken together, they are only as patches of verdure

on the huge waste of poverty.

When the paradox arrives at the dignity of a truth, it must have a greater array of testimony on its behalf than occasional returns and statistics, albeit these may show that frugal men who toil are now, with provident aims, gathering together their millions sterling by the year. Cast a glance across any fair landscape of England, and see yonder white coated peasant an animal link between instinct and reason, whom the civilization of a thousand years hath scarce touched, a serf as much in mind and condition as Gurth, his Saxon forefather, who was bond-slave to the soil. Turn to the next lane, wherever may be your town abode, reader, in this, our rich and happy England, and judge of the comparative value of such statistics by the squalor, the degradation, the debauchery or crime of its teeming hovels. Saving banks and friendly societies, and benefit clubs, provident associations, and other forms of cooperative self-exertion are cheering but very small facts against the vast and appalling heathendom of the 'unseen cities' in the bosom of a Christian land.

The genius of order, it is clear, did not rule the counsels of these self-helping men, or freehold land societies would not

have been the latest novelties of association. Self-improvement begins with the home,—home includes or implies a house, and the house a spot of land on which to build one. But the means to reach these social blessings, the first, as one might suppose, to

excite ingenuity, were the last in invention.

Were historians, as a rule, to write history as modern statesmen help to make it, in the enunciation of their policies, we have a historic fancy that the world would gain as much instruction from the things chronicled as undone as it does from those accomplished. Learn, then, how the humanizing power of association, as developed in the Freehold Land Society, was a

discovery but of yesterday.

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Some —— years ago (it was ere temperance societies and other prudential moralities came to the isle), twenty free-hearted, hard-working, and, at times, hard-drinking, friends and acquaintances, met to spend a convivial evening in mine host's parlour of the Ducks and Drakes. These 'jolly dogs', as they loved to hear themselves styled, had been 'keeping up' a very merry Christmas, and as this process of 'keeping it up' involves no small investment of hard coin of the realm, the conversation took a moral turn, interspersed with lamentations for the past and good resolutions for the future. In vino veritas; they had at least found an unpalatable truth in the dregs, and the liquid commodities of the Ducks and Drakes were by acclamation voted stale, flat, and unprofitable. Perhaps they may have been assisted to this conclusion by the report, that a prudent acquaintance and fellow-workman, John Careful by name, who well knew the relative value of pence and pewter, had demonstrated the importance of abstinence from these periodical keeping up convivialities, by becoming a stake-holder in his country, as the owner of a tenement and land, freehold and unencumbered. Careful had done this single-handed; why could not they unitedly do the like, or more? Why not!

Our twenty friends were on a sudden fired with desire to be stake-holders of old England. Counsel was sought of Cocker, and ways and means discussed. Beer cost half-acrown a week; self-denial would cost less, and leave a good balance to their credit at the end of the year. But each man of the twenty must practice self-denial to the extent of £50, to take rank with Careful as a proprietor of land; to say nothing of a brick and mortar superstructure. How long must the self-denial be practised? Half-a-crown a week multiplied by four, gave ten shillings, and that again by twelve, left £44 to be accumulated at the end of the first year of self-denial. Subtract the beer, and in eight years and four months £50 would

be the product.

If superfine critics should be pleased to sneer at these plain figures as truisms, bear in mind, Sirs Critic, that the calculations here reported were made untold years before land societies had local habitation in the realm, when association was deemed socialism, and socialism atheism itself. The calculation proceeded. If each man must individually accumulate his beer-subtracted half-crowns for a hundred months, might not the stake-holding dignity be attained by some members of the association within the period? They would try what might be gained, not only by saving individually, but by accumulating unitedly, and placing the subscriptions in a common fund.

The united weekly accumulations would, to say nothing of interest, give £10 a month, or £120 a-year. At the end of the first year there would be a fund to entitle two of the members to receive the purchase money of the land, with something to carry to the next year's account. At the end of the second two more=to 4; third year, 3=7; fourth, 2=9; at the end of the fifth three more=12; sixth, 2=14; seventh, 2=16; and at the end of the eighth year three more=19, leaving a surplus of £10, which, added to the contributions of the twenty members, would, in four months more, entitle the remaining or twentieth

person to the last allotted £50 of the series.

When this conclusion was worked out, our friends had made no inconsiderable step in social science; they had learned from unquestionable evidence the power of union and co-operation, and what may be socially accomplished for men and mankind

by well-directed association.

Who should take precedence or priority in the allotment of the completed sums? If two fortunate members at the end of the first, and two or three more, as the case might be, at the end of each succeeding year, were entitled, three men must wait eight years, and a fourth four months longer. As every one in the best regulated parallelogram could hardly hope to keep equal pace in mundane things, a priority of benefit must accrue to some more fortunate than their fellows, whether the right were to be determined by seniority of years, by lot, or by that easy mode of solving knotty points of precedence, taking the alphabetical order. Number twenty, however, might console himself by the reflection that he would not, in a pecuniary sense, be worse off than if he, as an isolated saving man, had, with a thousand temptations to draw him from the straight path, gone on accumulating for eight years and four months, while numbers nineteen, eighteen, seventeen, and so on, up to the most unreasonable grumbler of the society, was much better off by so many months or years shortened. And each one, if the Christmas festivals had allowed play for the moral sense, could rejoice that, while he was advancing his own interests, he was contributing directly to the good of his neighbour; while all could rejoice that they were impelled to industry and frugality by the

powerful motive of a fixed and common purpose.

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But though the means were thus clearly enough provided for, some more calculation was necessary to clear the way to the possession of the desired land. Land is a precious commodity in this dear isle of ours; and they knew full well, without calculation, that their united pounds would not purchase a lordly territory. They could only make two, or at most three, small purchases at the end of each year, and they had experience enough in the philosophy of trade to know the relative cost of wholesale and retail. Could they even hope to raise £1000 by gratuitous loan, at the commencement of the association, a £1000 worth of land must be reckoned in the category of a small purchase, and must involve a retail price. Besides, they had heard from popular tradition that the abstracts and parchments of the law would go a great way to cover, if not to doubly cover, the territory once and twenty times repeated; for the bull's hide which marked the boundary of young Carthage was nothing to the elasticity of a modern conveyance. Men who are to enjoy the privilege of a stake in the country ought, of course, to pay well for it. Let us, by a stretch of fancy, suppose that the legal expenses of conveying an estate for the consideration of £1000, do not exceed £20, and learned friends of Lincoln's Inn will credit us for moderation, which process and payment shall be denominated exaction number one, the same process and exactly the same expense would be increased and multiplied throughout the eight years and four months until there were twenty exactions:—one from each member who aspired to enter the order of respectability as a landowner. They had calculated an easy process to pay for the land; but they had not yet reckoned the tribute due to the majesty of the law. They must not only save ten shillings a month wherewith to buy the land, but four shillings monthly in addition, for the privilege of imagining, so far as learned lawyers might undertake to assure them, that they could call it their own. Is it so very strange that, opposed by difficulties which then seemed insurmountable, our friends sighed, and Boniface rejoiced, that libations were poured forth for the confusion of lawyers, and that the youthful resolutions for prudence and self-improvement were drowned in Lethe cups of ——'s entire!

Association to be practical and powerful must be self-expanding in its operations. Why, are we not, for social lessons, taught by the political wisdom of past times among nations of rude as well as of the now civilized races? Our forefathers, in common with other free-hearted peoples, adopted a decimal system in civil institutions. Strength and power grew stronger and more powerful by expansion upwards from the union of the family, to the tribe, to the circle, and to the commonwealth itself.

Had our twenty despairing friends taken a step onwards by decimals, might they not have seen a way to overcome this paternal protection cast by law around the rights of property? He must be poor indeed in all that makes the world worth living for, who cannot by precept or example influence some of his fellows for good. If it be true, as proverbial wisdom declares, that the evil example of one man can corrupt a whole community, it is but a fractional reckoning of humanity to affirm that one true earnest man may influence ten for good. Let us suppose the twenty, fortified by better resolutions, have, by some of the magic which Aristoteles attributed to decimals, grown into 200, like minded, by monthly savings of 10s., to accumulate for the purchase of £50 allotments of land. The pecuniary accumulations would extend over the same period as before; but the rights would ripen by the month instead of by the year, and the association would have increased its working power from causes all-powerful in commercial affairs. ripening power has increased twelvefold in five out of the eight years and odd months. Instead of only giving two rights, or two completed sums of £50 per annum, in the first, second, fourth, sixth, and seventh years, and three in the third, fifth, and eighth, the association can now yield twenty-four a year. In other words, it will in one year accumulate more rights by four than were accumulated, according to the previous calculation, for the whole period; the sum of £1200 per year, resulting from the monthly payments of the two hundred members, exceeding by £200 the whole eight yearly and four monthly payments of the convivial twenty.

Armed with this money power, the directors of the association can go into the land market and buy at wholesale price (we now assume that they can legally do so), and it will be the fault of the members if they do not obtain the allotments at the same rate. But this is perhaps the least of the advantages gained by the increase of the associative power. It is commonly believed that men may do anything with money; an association of 200 members paying up regularly for a year could certainly manage the legal difficulty. Twelve hundred pounds will purchase an estate sufficient to convert four-and-twenty £50 contributors into freeholders, and possibly enable the association to buy as much more land on easy terms of credit. Hence, if the estimate of legal expenses be accurate,

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by making one purchase, an expenditure will be saved of about £432 of the £480 that would be incurred were each shareholder to go singly into the market himself. And why must he incur his proportion of that large expense? Because under our complicated system of real property-law, no prudent man should run the risk of taking a title to land, however small its extent, without a searching legal investigation. Let the association, however, make one purchase, and one investigation will suffice, at an expense inconsiderable to individuals when borne by so many. The association having obtained a good title to the land, the conveyance of each allotment is a simple and inexpensive proceeding. Since freehold land societies were instituted, professional etiquette has bent before certain valuable considerations, and solicitors now execute the conveyances of the societies by contract.

It will be observed that these calculations are based on a fixed period for accumulation. Let not this be taken as an approval of what is called the 'terminating principle,' prevalent for a time in the benefit building societies, and much censured by scientific writers, but simply as an illustration of the working power of association, and of the leading principle of a freehold land society. Our beer-bibbers went on for years dreaming over the calculations. Now and then they wakened up, rubbed their eyes, experimented, failed, and took to beer again. Failure and disappointment were inevitable when effort was based on extemporized theorems accepted without calculation or consideration. Many united with great zeal to accomplish a desired object in a given time. They calculated not the chances of life and the world, but, like first-rate theorists, measured all men and things by one standard, and they failed, —well meaning sufferers for the instruction of the million.

Freehold land societies, which have in four or five years reached to such profitable growth, owed their origin to political accident. Though their constitution and mechanism are in a measure mysteries to the public, their history is too well known to require repetition. The thoughtful Birmingham artisan who was the first to propose this scheme probably foresaw its social importance, but what he sought immediataly was the more ready aid of party zeal. That it was warmly taken up by an active political party may account at once for the immediate patronage bestowed, and the obloquy cast on it. But the societies outlived their bad name. As liberals advanced, conservatives took up the defensive, and to their surprise, no doubt, found how excellent a machinery had been discovered for social improvement. Not long ago, a well-known and esteemed gentleman, of political opinions widely differing from those of Mr. Taylor, publicly

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seconded a vote of thanks to the founder of the freehold land societies as a social benefactor. We hear no murmurs now, save at times from belligerent shareholders, probably discontented by too much prosperity. The peasant and the peer, the tradesman and the merchant, are enrolled, name for name, on the registers of members, and great, indeed, and most remarkable,

is the progress of the movement.

At the last freehold land conference—a kind of annual congress of representatives from the societies scattered throughout the kingdom, which met for the fourth time in December-it was reported that 130 societies had been established, with 85,000 members, 120,000 shares, 310 purchased estates, of which 19,500 parcels had been allotted, and receipts amounting to £790,000. These figures, compared with the reports of the preceding year, showed an increase upon the period of 30 societies, 40,000 members, 55,000 shares, 174 estates, 5500 allotments, and £480,000 in payments. Estimating the shares at the average of £30 per share, the total sum being subscribed for, was not less than £3,600,000. We have reason to believe that the estimate in all its items was within the amount; and we know that, short though the interval is since it was made, there has been a very great increase in the movement. The National Freehold Land Society alone has received within four years upwards of half a million sterling in subscriptions, and has already purchased about one hundred estates, capable of shortly conferring, if common political calculations may be relied on, upwards of 15,000 county votes. Avowedly to counteract this liberal advance, the Conservative Land Society, a few months ago, took the field as a defensive measure, with a long array of noble lords, members of parliament, and other notable persons as its patrons and executive, and it has already won a prominent position as a national, flourishing, and progressive society. The Church of England and General Freehold Land Allotment Society, abjuring politics, and aiming only at social good, has likewise assumed a national character, and obtained much financial success. Many other societies, metropolitan and provincial, general and local, exist and flourish, and new projects are daily claiming the ear of the public.

'What is a freehold land society?' possibly may ask some reader, more unknowing than the journalist who lately, with Arcadian innocence, desired to see the inside of one! It has been our privilege to see something of more than one; nevertheless it is rather puzzling to give in the narrow boundary of a definition an accurate characteristic, seeing that a freehold land society really or virtually is, what it legally is not, under one head of law, and legally is what it really is not under another;

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a set of inconsistencies for which we are indebted to a provident, but not perspicuous legislative wisdom.

A freehold land society may be shortly described as an association consisting of an unlimited number of members, subscribing either by payment in one sum, or by small periodical contributions, a certain capital, to be applied in the purchase of freehold land for distribution amongst the members. is the end which is proposed and accomplished indirectly. But in its legal constitution it has another and a most important office. As, under a properly-constituted land society, no member can be compelled to take an allotment of land, it is a kind of savings bank very productive to investers. It has, with as near an approach to accuracy as is possible under its peculiar characteristics, been described as a mutual benefit savings bank and loan society. It lends money to one set of persons to buy estates in the gross, which its emitted members may buy if they please in retail; and to another set of members it lends on easy terms of repayment, the purchase-money of the lots retailed.

Coming under the statutes passed for the protection of benefit societies, it enjoys peculiar legal privileges. Under the Friendly Societies' Acts, it requires no long deed of settlement at constitution, like joint stock companies, with a long train of liabilities, but is shortly and simply a mutual benefit society, the members of which cannot be made liable for any debts or engagements of the society or its directors beyond the amount of their shares. No liability can attach to any member by reason of his joining the society, as in the case of a railway or banking company; for one member cannot pledge the credit or the funds of his co-members. Litigation is avoided by a simple machinery of arbitration. Amongst other advantages, and not a slight one, is exemption from some heavy exactions of the stamp laws. The Friendly Societies' Act of 1829, to which all subsequent changes in the law bear reference, is very latitudinarian in its aim, providing, as it does, for the formation of societies for the relief of members and their families in sickness, &c., or for any other purpose not illegal. But it is held that buying land is not a purpose contemplated; recourse is therefore had to a fiction, and to secure the privileges of these laws, it is enrolled under the Act of 1836,\* for the regulation of building societies. Although building houses should form no part of the scheme, it is legally designated a 'Benefit Building Society.'

The advantages of a freehold land society, as a money investment and inducement to frugal habits, may be very briefly

<sup>\* 6</sup> and 7 William IV., c. 32.

indicated. It consists of an unlimited number of shares, of amounts varying from £30 to £50. In the majority of the societies, the shares are of the first-named amount, which is by many considered sufficient to purchase a piece of freehold land of the annual value of 40s., and thus confer the electoral franchise for the county. Other societies doubting the sufficiency of this amount, have fixed their shares at £50; but. practically, it is much the same in the end: for the shareholder can only reasonably expect to get a quantity of land equal to the sum he pays-£30 worth in the one case, and £50 in the The sufficiency of some £30 freeholds has been questioned in the courts; but legal exception has as yet cast no imputation on the higher value. The share subscriptions may in most of the societies be paid in any way most convenient to the members,—weekly, monthly, quarterly, or yearly, provided payment be at a rate of not less than a given sum, ranging from 4s. to 8s. per month. These subscriptions may be withdrawn at a short notice, just as in a savings bank. And here it may be remarked, that the land society has a moral advantage over the savings bank, in keeping saving men up to their good resolu-The one being a place of deposit, the invester, exposed to a momentary temptation to extravagance, too often does not hesitate to withdraw his accumulations, flattering himself that the amounts withdrawn can be easily replaced. Temptation will be the more readily resisted with the direct object in view and the desire of obtaining a freehold, which naturally will become stronger as the accumulations for that purpose increase, till frugality grows into a confirmed habit. Interest, of varying amounts, is allowed on deposits. In all the societies we believe it is at least equal to that of the savings bank. One other point of superiority over the savings banks is this,—that in the land society the shareholder is member of a self-governing institution, and has a direct control over its affairs.—In this respect it is of incalculable value as a primary educational institution in social and political duties.

The profits of the society are generally divided annually amongst certain classes of shareholders, or, legally speaking, placed to their credit, and these are often of an amount which would rejoice the hearts of many folks who sneer at small investments. Another large source of profit to individual members arises from the sale of rights of choice of allotments, and to advances. For example: one is entitled to a right of choice, either by completion of his share, or by good fortune in the ballot, or by any other mode of determining priority of right, but does not care to exercise it. Another, not entitled, is very desirous to get his allotment at once. A registers his right

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for sale at a certain premium, £5, £10, £15, or £20, and B, the other, purchases and takes his place as the person entitled to the particular advantage. In some societies, this is done by selling the right alone, the one taking the place of the other on the share register. In others, with the view of simplifying proceedings, the transfer is of the share absolutely; B becoming the holder of the entitled share, and A retiring from the society, not only with his premium (which he will in all probability re-invest in a new share or shares), but with all that he had paid into the society as fees and subscriptions. A very large business is now done in these transactions. Premiums of all amounts, from 20s. to £100, are obtained, and some gains, which sound like fable, or the Australian Pactolus, might be We will mention but one, which came within our own observation, where the invester of a few shillings, in less than the same number of days, netted, as the phrase is, two thousand per centum; and what is more, the purchaser a fortnight afterwards made the same per-centage by another sale! This may be a marvel amongst the per-centages; but we appeal to any man familiar with the business of the land societies, if these profits are not, as a rule, such as would come within the meaning of that substantial figure of speech, called, east of Temple Bar, 'a good thing.'

Objection has been made to this as a kind of gambling. With submission, it is not so. A has a certain right, which he does not desire to exercise; B desires the right, and is willing to pay for it. A gains something for what he does not want, and B secures what he desires at a price he has no objection to pay. It is a transaction as fair and legitimate, and unquestionable on moral grounds, as the exchange of a certain weight of silver for a certain weight of coffee. If B does pay some £10, or £15, or £20 for that right, it is no more (the chances are that it is much less) than he would if he were to go into the market, paying retail price and the price of legal protection in the investigation of title and conveyance. Premium has an illomened sound to many victims; but Capel Court and the land societies are no more alike than Macedon was to Monmouth.

We must now show briefly, how the society deals in and with the land. The society, as a body, not being able to purchase, individual members, in practice,—usually, some members of the direction,—do so for them, and thereby gratuitously undertake a responsible, and not always a thankful office; for as has been shown, as no member can be compelled to take an allotment, the whole might be left on their hands. But directors are generally chosen for business habits, and as they have a defensive self-interest to excite them, prudent purchases will be the rule: no doubt in time, and with the rapid profitable progress of flourishing societies, the imposition of this delicate duty will be obviated, by the establishment of guarantee funds to cover any risk. A sufficient fund having accumulated in the society, the directors proceed to make a purchase. They buy an estate of-say ten acres, which, with the necessary expenses of investigation of title, and conveyance, levelling, drainage, fencing, and road-making costs £4000. The share being, say £30, to keep within the expenditure the division must not exceed 133 lots. Now the land being duly sub-divided, the question arises, who shall be entitled to chose from amongst the whole body? The mode varies in different societies. In some it is effected by giving the right to the members as they stand in rotation, popularly termed by seniority, according to date of membership; or by completion, that is, payment at once of the full amount of the share; with a due proportion of rights determined by ballot. Or by a union of the three modes, in making periodical additions to the entitled lists of completed, balloted, and seniority rights.

Each entitled shareholder, or the members of each class holding rights, have, when the day of allotment comes, the right of choice on the estate in rotation, as the rights are entitled and so numbered. If he exercise his right, the lot he has chosen in exchange for his share is at once conveyed to him and his heirs for ever, free in some societies from all expense of conveyance, in others for a small contract fee not exceeding £2 or £3. The reader will again bear in mind what we formerly said of legal expenses in real property dealings. Supposing, however, the holder of the right does not like the estate, he may either reserve his right of choice for another estate, or he may sell, and as a rule,

it may be affirmed, for a good premium.

But whatever may be the mode of determining the rights of priority, shareholders must be divided into two classes as respects their subsequent relation to the society. These are

the completed and the uncompleted shareholders.

The completed shareholder has contributed to the funds of the society the full amount of his share; he is therefore entitled to receive the equivalent amount of land; and having been duly invested with his freehold, and with the dignity of stakeholder, he bids adieu to the society. Not so the uncompleted member. He may have only paid the first instalment at the date of receiving the right. How then is he to procure the large balance of the £30 or the £50? Thus:—the society will require him to pay up one-third or one-fourth of the amount of the share,

and they will advance him the remaining two-thirds or three-fourths on the security of a mortgage, executed at the cost of a few shillings, on the land allotted to him. Now his position is changed: instead of being simply an invester of savings in a savings bank, he becomes the debtor of an easy loan society, paying back with interest the loan in monthly instalments, with leave to redeem his mortgage at any time his means may enable him to do so. And when he has done so, or completed the periodical repayments, the lot will be his absolute freehold. For the information of those who may be inclined to join a freehold land society for a political purpose, it may be remarked that the law requires that the freehold shall be of the clear annual value of forty shillings, so that while there is a mortgage encumbrance, the freehold will not confer the county franchise.

### Brief Antices.

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The Poetical Works of Robert Southey. Collected by Himself. Fcap 8vo. Ten Volumes. Vol. I. London: Longman and Co.

We need not repeat our estimate of Dr. Southey's poetry. Our judgment has been recorded on former occasions, when we set forth, at large, the views we entertain and our reasons for them. We have to do at present with a new edition, and shall content ourselves with pointing out its distinctive features. In the first place it is much cheaper than its predecessors, at the same time that it is 'got up' in a style of neatness and elegance befitting the names of its publishers. In the second place—and to this we attach much importance—the present edition will be enriched by the final corrections of the author, which are numerous, and in come cases of much value. In 1837, Dr. Southey revised his poems for the press, when he introduced various alterations which are still copyright, and can only be obtained in the editions of the Messrs. Longman. The view he entertained of these corrections was deeply serious. He regarded the work of revision as a 'testamentary task,' and desired that his productions should go down to

posterity as he thus finally left them. Every ingenuous mind will sympathize with his feeling, while every lover of literature will wish to possess the final corrections of the author. The first poem in the present volume is 'Joan of Arc,' and the number of the alterations made may be estimated by the fact, that of the 543 lines of which the first book consisted, changes were introduced in 186. Many of these are no doubt trifling, but some are of great importance. The copyright of the first and second editions of 'Joan of Arc' having expired, it has been issued in a cheap form, and many purchasers will probably be induced to possess themselves of it, in ignorance of the important fact that such edition does not contain Dr. Southey's final We agree with the Messrs. Longman, that a double injustice is thus perpetrated,—'one to the poet, who has an equitable claim that his works should be presented with such a degree of excellence as he was capable of bestowing upon them; the other to the purchasers, who have a spurious and very imperfect copy supplied to them instead of that which is the genuine and complete work of the Where the facts of the case are known we cannot imagine an intelligent reader hesitating for a moment as to the edition which should be preferred. We are warm advocates of a cheap literature; but in the same degree we maintain the claims of authorship to fair remuneration, and the incomparable superiority which arises from the painstaking revision of a matured intellect.

The Gospel Revealed to Job: or, Patriarchal Faith and Practice illustrated. In Thirty Lectures on the Principal Passages of the Book of Job. With Explanatory, Illustrative, and Critical Notes. By Charles Augustus Halbert, M.A., Perpetual Curate of Slaithwaite, Yorkshire. Printed at the University Press. London: Longman and Co.; Cambridge: Macmillans. 1853.

Mr. Halbert follows the late Dr. Lee in his general views of the Book of Job. This volume is rich in illustrations, and deserves attention as an interesting exhibition of evangelical truth in some of its most practical and consolatory aspects.

Theism, Atheism, and the Popular Theology. Sermons. By Theodore Parker. Post 8vo. pp. 298. London: John Chapman.

A History of the Hebrew Monarchy from the Administration of Samuel to the Babylonish Captivity. By F. W. Newman. Second Edition. Post 8vo. pp. 333. London: John Chapman.

These volumes constitute the first issue of Chapman's Quarterly Series, which is intended, according to the announcement made, 'to consist of works by learned and profound thinkers, embracing the subjects of Theology, Philosophy, Biblical Criticism, and the History of Opinion.' Four volumes are to be issued annually for a subscription of one pound, and an endeavor will be made to publish them at quarterly intervals, in March, June, September, and December. The theological character

of the series is sufficiently indicated by the works before us, and by the name of their publisher, and we regret to say, that in our judgment. that character is deeply and essentially defective. Both Mr. Parker and Mr. Newman discard all that is properly supernatural in the Christian system, and refer, in unambiguous and depreciatory terms, to what we deem its distinctive and ennobling features. Such being the case, we might be content to let these volumes pass without notice, did we not deem it important to apprise our readers of what is occurring around us, in order that the more intelligent and studious may be excited to those courses of investigation which will best fit them to meet the errors of their day. If we are to contend earnestly for the faith, we must know the mode in which it is assailed; must accurately note the characteristics of the system proposed as its substitute; and be familiar with the various arguments by which it is sought to be overthrown. It is in vain to conceal from ourselves that the older and popular defences of Christianity are inapplicable to the existing case. They were triumphant as applied to the errors of their day, but are unsuited to that new phase of opinion which, under a religious garb, and in a phraseology borrowed from revelation, seeks to undermine the confidence of mankind in the distinctive doctrines and paramount authority of the word of God.

It is easy to use hard words, or to apply opprobrious epithets to the advocates of unpopular opinions. But this is not the way to serve the cause of truth. It has always failed to do so, and the experience of the past is strictly applicable to the case now before us. Foregoing, therefore, all railing, we invite the choicest minds amongst us to investigate the phenomena of the anti-supernatural movement which is taking place. The evil is of sufficient magnitude to warrant the consecration of their powers. Great interests are at stake. The church of the living God looks for such a service, and thousands of serious, reflecting men will be grateful to those who render it. We have no fear of the result. Our faith is too deeply cherished,—its foundations are too broadly laid to admit of this. But in proportion as we love the truth and confide in its power, we deprecate the bitterness and superficiality with which this great controversy is sometimes conducted. With earnestness, yet with charity; with a calm temper, a clear view of the mighty interests involved, and a deeply religious spirit, let us address ourselves to the special duty of our day. A nobler vocation cannot be desired. Let those who are equal address themselves to it, and great will be their reward.

Thomson's Poetical Works. With Life, Critical Dissertation, and Explanatory Notes. By the Rev. George Gilfillan. 8vo. pp. xx., 372. Edinburgh: James Nichol.

This volume forms part of a series now in course of publication, under the able editorship of the Rev. George Gilfillan. The proposal issued by Mr. Nichol is remarkable even in this age of cheap literature, and will go far to supply what has long been needed,—an accurate,

elegant, and cheap edition of our poets. Six volumes, in extra cloth, are to be supplied to subscribers on an annual payment of one guinea, and the first year's issue, in addition to the volume before us, will consist of Milton's, George Herbert's, and Goldsmith's poetical works. with Young's 'Night Thoughts.' Such a guinea's worth was never published before, and we are much mistaken if the series does not obtain a large circulation. The volumes are issued in handsome style, and every care will be taken to secure the accuracy of the editions. This is a great point, and we call the special attention of the editor and publisher to it. While issued at an extremely low price, the 'getting up' of the volumes is thoroughly good. They are printed on thick paper, with a clear and large type. We should have preferred the foolscap octavo size, for, much as we like the demy octavo for prose works, something more portable appears to us desirable in the case of This, however, is matter of taste, in which we readily defer poetry. to the judgment of others.

Respecting Mr. Gilfillan's sketch of the Life of Thomson, including a criticism on his poetry, we need say little. His manner is too well known to require comment, and is now so familiar to the public as to be readily distinguished. The sketch is brief, and bears the clear impress of the author's mind. It is at once sympathetic and discriminating,-the production of a man keenly susceptible of poetic impressions, and able to analyse them. Mr. Gilfillan's temperament involves some of the choicest elements of poetry, while his critical canons are for the most part sound and trustworthy. He has a high appreciation of Thomson's genius, yet does not hesitate to admit his many defects. We regret, in common with him, that his plan did not permit his giving us any of Thomson's letters. 'They show him,' he says, 'in a new aspect,—as the affectionate brother, the stedfast friend, -the acute observer of human nature—in short, the 'fine fat fellow,' that he was, no less certainly than one of our most genuine and popular poets.'

Autobiographic Sketches. By Thomas De Quincey. Post 8vo. pp. 368. Edinburgh: James Hogg.

A LARGE circle of readers will rejoice in the appearance of this volume, the value of which is enhanced by its being only the first of a series which will include a large portion of the author's contributions to periodical literature. A highly respectable publishing house in Boston, U.S., has issued twelve volumes of Mr. De Quincey's 'Fugitive Papers:' and we are glad to find that he has thus been induced to give them the benefit of a revision before introducing them afresh to the British public. This was due to himself as well as to his admirers, and the effect has been to enhance the value of what was previously deserving of much praise. Considerable additions have been made in the present edition, and other changes have been introduced, 'which, even to the old parts, by giving very great expansion, give sometimes a character of absolute novelty.' Mr. De Quincey, it appears, has

always contemplated such a publication, and has been urged to it from many quarters. 'Never for an instant,' he tells us, 'did I falter in my purpose of republishing most of the papers which I had written. Neither, if I myself had been inclined to forget them, should I have been allowed to do so by strangers. For it happens that, during the fourteen last years, I have received from many quarters in England, in Ireland, in the British colonies, and in the United States, a series of letters expressing a far profounder interest in papers written by myself than any which I could ever think myself entitled to look for.' We are glad that he has complied with the request of his admirers, and give him a cordial welcome on his reappearance. We need scarcely say that we are far from coinciding in all the views he expresses, but there is a freshness, an individuality, and a power in his writings which render them both stimulative and improving. We need an element of this kind amid the sameness and dull monotony which are largely supplied by the current authorship of the day.

How Wars are got up in India—The Origin of the Burmese War. By Richard Cobden, Esq., M.P. 8vo. pp. 58. Second Edition. London: W. and F. Cash.

An admirable and deeply interesting pamphlet, which should be read by every Englishman. It is written in Mr. Cobden's best style, lucid, compact, nervous and practical. The facts of the case are arranged with the utmost distinctness, so as to give entire mastery to the intelligent reader, and the conclusion derived from the whole is such as may well cover us with mortification and shame. gratuitous or wicked assault was never perpetrated even by our Indian Having examined the papers relating to the subject which have been printed by parliament, Mr. Cobden has made 'an abstract of the leading facts of the case for publication, in the hope that it may induce the reader to peruse the original correspondence.' Our thanks are due to the honorable member for the West Riding for the service he has thus rendered, and we strongly commend his labors to our readers. Let the pamphlet be attentively read, and an intense feeling will be awakened throughout the country. Such iniquity requires only to be known, and the moral indignation of the country cannot fail to assume a form which our rulers must respect. Mr. Cobden is never so thoroughly at home as when engaged in dissecting the abuses of power, wherever exercised, and on whomsover they alight. The moral of his pamphlet is not affected by the peace which has been concluded.

Our Coal Fields and our Coal Pits; the People in them, and the Scenes around them. By a Traveller Underground. pp. 243. London: Longman and Co.

This small volume consists of Nos. 42 and 43 of the 'Traveller's Library,' and is full of various and very interesting information. The

author is evidently well 'up to' his subject, and the style in which he communicates with his readers is at once simple, clear, and attractive. 'The Tyne and the Wear, and their adjacent collieries,' he says, 'are personally familiar to me. On the Tyne I have visited thirty-one collieries for personal examination, and several others on the Wear river. I do not want to boast how often and how far I have been underground; but certainly quite often and far enough for the reader's profit and entertainment, and for my purpose, peril, and fatigue,' Those who desire information on a subject which few understand, and about which still fewer have written, will do well to read 'Our Coal Fields and our Coal Pits,' and none who do so, will regret the time so employed. We have seldom obtained so large a return for the time and labour devoted to the perusal of a volume.

Some Thoughts about the School of the Future. A Sketch of the Solution which Time appears to be preparing for the Different Educational Questions of the Day. By the Rev. Foster Barham Zincke, Vicar of Wherstead. London: Longman and Co. 1852.

EVERY writer who honestly, intelligently, and earnestly devotes his thoughts to the great questions affecting popular education has our hearty sympathy, even though there may be points on which we differ with him. In this volume the reader will find admirable practical suggestions as to the character of teaching demanded by the age which is opening before us. We should demur to some of the means proposed for carrying them into effect.

# Reniem of the Month.

THE CHOLERA HAS AGAIN VISITED US. The fearful scourge of 1831-2, and 1848-9 has re-appeared. For the third time it is amongst us, with every appearance of unimpaired malignancy. Commencing in Persia, it has extended over a considerable part of Russia, has ravaged Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, has shown itself in the north of Germany, attacked Stettin, Berlin, Rotterdam, and Hamburgh, and is now actively virulent on the north-east coast of England, in the immediate neighbourhood of the towns where it first appeared in 1831. Such are the simple facts of the case, and we refer to them, not for the purpose of exciting alarm, but with a view of inducing an immediate adoption of those measures which are adapted to mitigate, if they may not wholly arrest, the scourge. We need not add much to what is advanced in our first article, but there are a few considerations of pregnant moment at this critical period, and which are urged on our attention by the circumstances around us. We should equally guard against despondency and indifference. Though the minister of death is in our midst, we must not lose faith in the overruling providence of God; neither must we, on the other hand, be neglectful of those precautionary measures which past experience suggests. While the one would betoken a lamentably defective state of religious feeling, the other would evince a degree of folly, which it is difficult to designate, and from which the worst possible consequences would ensue. We are glad to see that the authorities are alive to the importance of adopting precautionary measures. It would, of course, have been better, had no necessity for such vigilance existed, and we may well

take shame to ourselves that it does so.

'It is deeply to be lamented,' says the Board of Health, 'that the interval between the last visitation of this pestilence and the present has not been generally employed in effecting a larger amount of improvement in our cities and towns. From such inspections as the General Board have recently been enabled to make of the state of populous districts, the former seats of the disease, in apprehension of its re-appearance, they are compelled to state that there are extensive districts, and even entire towns, in which no perceptible improvement of any kind has been effected.' When will men learn wisdom? Under the immediate pressure of former visitations, various sanitary regulations were adopted; but no sooner was the plague stayed, than, with few honorable exceptions, the former state of things was renewed. proclamation has been issued by the Privy Council, directing that the Nuisance Removal Act should be put in immediate force throughout the kingdom; and the Board of Health has published a Notification, containing much seasonable advice, which we earnestly commend to the best attention of our readers. It is sheer folly-nay, worse than folly-to neglect, at such time, the counsels of experience, and we cannot better discharge our duty than by transferring to our pages some portions of the counsel given :-

'Experience has shown,' says the Board, 'that in the case of the actual outbreak of the epidemic, the chief measures to be relied on for checking its spread are those which prevent overcrowding, remove persons from affected houses, and bring the infected population under prompt and proper treatment during the premonitory stage of the disease. During the epidemic of 1849 an organization for effecting these objects was brought into operation, the main parts of which were the establishment of a system of house-to-house visitation, the opening of dispensaries and houses of refuge in affected districts for the gratuitous supply of medicines, the establishment of houses of refuge for the reception of such indigent persons as appeared to be in imminent danger, resident in the most filthy and overcrowded houses, the provision of temporary hospitals for the reception of those who could not be properly treated at their own homes, and, in some instances, the supply of tents for the removal of the most susceptible and destitute classes to a distance from infected localities. The result of this system was, that out of 130,000 premonitory cases brought under its operation, no fewer than 6,000 of which were on the point of passing into the developed stage, only 250 went into the collapsed

stage of cholera, or 1 in 520. But of the 43,737 cases under visitation in the metropolis, including 978 cases on the point of passing into the collapsed stage of cholera, only 52 actually did so,—not 1 in 800; so that, taking together the general result of this extended experience, it appears that the proportion of cases under early treatment which passed from the premonitory into the developed stage varied from 1 in 500 to 1 in 800.

Where the disease has broken out, we are told that 'the one essential precaution is not to neglect, for a single hour, any degree of looseness of bowels. This symptom,' it is added, 'being commonly without pain, and too slight to conceive that it can be of the smallest consequence, naturally leads to neglect, and this neglect has cost the lives of thousands.' The proper regulation of food, with moderation both in eating and drinking, avoidance of excessive fatigue, and warm clothing, are also enforced, as important precautionary measures. 'During the present epidemic in Hamburgh, it has been found that incautious exposure to cold and damp has brought on an attack as rapidly as improper food or excess. This precaution against damp is rendered doubly important

by the peculiarity of the present season.

To these directions we crave attention. They are the results of extensive observation, and have been tested in a thousand cases. They are so simple that all can understand them; so inexpensive that all can follow them. There is no occasion for alarm. Let due care be exercised, and we are warranted to cherish the hope that 'the pestilence which walketh in darkness' will pass us unscathed. To the timid and desponding we say in the concluding language of the Board of Health, 'that, formidable as this malady is in its intense form and developed stage, there is no disease against which it is in our power to take such effectual precaution, both as collective communities and private individuals, by attention to it in its first or premonitory stage, and by the removal of those agencies which are known to propagate the spread of all epidemic diseases, or, where that may be impracticable, by removal from them.' Such a fact, while it encourages cheerful confidence, enforces the immediate adoption of every precautionary measure.

THE EASTERN QUESTION IS YET UNSETTLED; nay, judging from present appearances, a peaceful solution is further off than ever. We never had any faith in the mediation of Austria. The services recently rendered by the Czar to that power, precluded, in our judgment, an independent position being maintained by the latter. The young Emperor of Austria is too deeply indebted to Nicholas to discharge, with honesty, the delicate duties he has undertaken. The offer of his services was suspicious, and taken in connexion with the subsequent course of events, wears very much the appearance of having been previously arranged in the interests, and at the suggestion, of Russia. But however this may be, the mediation has undoubtedly served to complicate events, and to defer, if not absolutely to prevent, a peaceful settlement of the dispute. France and England readily lent themselves to the proposal of a conference at Vienna. They were naturally desirous of having Austria identified with themselves, and were probably influenced, in part, by the difficulties of their position; and the

hope of better success on the adhesion of the House of Hapsburgh being obtained. The result is well known. A document was adopted by the conference, setting forth the mode in which the impending struggle might be averted. This document was forwarded to St. Petersburgh, and was immediately agreed to by the Czar. It was then transmitted to Constantinople, where certain modifications were suggested by the Sultan as essential to the maintenance of his independence. In this interpretation we deem the Sultan right, nor can we free ourselves from the impression, that the document was designedly framed to involve claims on the part of the Czar, which may hereafter be pressed to the serious detriment of the Porte. We do not imagine that France and England were designedly parties to this fraud-for such we deem it-but we strongly suspect that the history of the document, were it unfolded, would go far to countenance the supposition. It is scarcely to be imagined that, in the known relations of Russia and Austria, the latter would be a party to propositions, to which the approval of the former had not been ascertained. At any rate, the Czar has rejected the modifications of the Sultan, and the grounds on which he does so, go far to prove the sagacious foresight which prompted them. The question, then, recurs, what next? We tremble as we contemplate the possible reply.

Before this meets the eye of our readers, that reply may have been given, and if its tone be warlike, as the advices from Constantinople lead us to fear, who shall say where the evil will stop? One thing is clear, even to the 'Times.' 'Before the first Note of the Vienna Conference had been accepted by the Court of St. Petersburgh, the Emperor of Russia stood absolutely without an excuse in the eyes of the world for his audacious outrage upon Turkish independence and European law. Up to this stage of the dispute there was no room for misunder-Such is the acknowledgment of a journal which has done its utmost to uphold the cause of the Czar. Is the state of parties then materially altered by the modifications suggested at Constantinople? We say not. The mediating powers are pledged to uphold the integrity of the Turkish Empire. That integrity is threatened, in the judgment of the Sultan's ministers, by the phraseology of a portion of the Vienna document. Alterations are proposed, in order to guard against this danger, and the Emperor Nicholas at once rejects them, and affirms that the Danubian provinces shall not be vacated until they are withdrawn, and the Note of the conferring powers is accepted entire and without alteration. A more imperious and suspicious decision could not be announced. About words, we care little; but there must be no ambiguity in the terms employed. Let the modifications proposed by the Porte be dealt with as they may, the sinister and ambitious policy of the Russian emperor must be effectually barred by the Western powers. France and England have gone too far to leave the Sultan to the tender mercies of his Northern neighbour.

THE REVEREND FRANCIS AUGUSTUS Cox, D.D., LL.D., one of the best friends of 'The Eclectic Review,' has been called to his rest since the publication of our last number. The editors of a journal in which he took a lively interest, both as a reader and as a writer, record his

removal with sentiments of affection and grief. We had traced, for several months past, the symptoms of declining health in the manly form and intelligent countenance which had been familiar to the Christian public of this metropolis for nearly half a century. This is not the place either for a sketch of Dr. Cox's life, or an eulogy on his many private, social, and ministerial virtues; but the close intercourse of our friendship, and the frequent contributions of his pen to our pages, make it as just to his memory and to our readers as it is congenial with our own feelings to add one tribute to those which the press, in many forms, is rendering to his worth. In addition to his qualities as a preacher, as a tutor, as a scholar crowned by universities in Britain and America, our venerated friend was favourably known beyond the unusually wide circle of personal connexions as an interesting author. The 'Life of Melancthon,' 'Female Scripture Biography,' 'Our Young Men,' 'Biblical Antiquities,' and 'The History of the Baptist Missionary Society,' will long recal his learning, taste, diligence, and piety to instructed and delighted readers; while his anonymous compositions have added to the usefulness of several influential periodicals. Very few men have combined so many admirable qualities. Associated with Brougham and others in founding the London University on the broadest principles, he was unflinching in his adherence to evangelic views of Protestant Christian truth, and deservedly enjoyed the highest place in the esteem of his own denomination. He was a staunch supporter of the Anti-State Church Association, and an earnest member of the Evangelical Alliance. He was a welcome guest in literary society, in evangelical fellowships, and in social gatherings. Amiable in temper, courteous in manners, firm in principle, and catholic in spirit, his Christian sentiments gave charms to the celebration of his seventieth birth-day, and filled him with grateful recollections on the bed of death. His name henceforth will have an honourable place with those of Hall, Fuller, and Foster, with Sutcliffe, Ryland, Pearce, and Carey, among the teachers and benefactors of mankind.

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